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JPRS L/10602

21 JUNE 1982

# Worldwide Report

**TERRORISM** 

F0U0 3/82



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# WORLDWIDE REPORT

TERRORISM

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

#### LIST OF 'ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY OPERATIONS'

Beirut [?] ARMENIA in Armenian, English, Arabic, French Apr-May 82 pp 52-55

[List of operations of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia from 1 January 1980 to 31 December 1981]

[Text]

1- 12/1/1980	Justice Commandos for the Armenian Genocide Group, bombing
	of Belgian Sabena Airlines in Paris, material damage.

2- 12/1/1980 Justice Commandos for the Armenian Genocide Group, bombing of West German Lufthansa Airlines in Paris, 2 wounded and material damage.

3- 12/1/1980 Justice Commandos for the Armenian Genocide Graup, bombing of British Airways, 1 wounded and material damage, in Paris.

4- 18/2/1980 Justice Commandos for the Armenian Genocide Group, bombing of Israeli El Al Airlines in Rome, 3 wounded & material demage.

5- 18/2/1980 Justice Commandos for the Armenian Genocide Group, bombing of SwissAir in Rome, 1 wounded & mat rial damage.

6- 18/2/1980 Justice Commandos for the Armenica Genocide Group, bombing of West German Lüfthansa Airlines in Rome, material damage.

7- 10/3/1980 Martyr Raffi Balian Commando, bombing of Turkish Airlines in Rome, 2 dead & 17 wounded.

8- 19/4/1980 Black April 24<sup>th</sup> Commando, rocket attack of Turkish Consulate in Marseille,

3- 31/7/1980 Kourken Yanikian Commando, gun attack on Turkish diplomat and family in Athens, 2 dead & 2 wounded.

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	and the second second second second second				
10- 5/8/1980 11- 26/9/ <b>80</b>	Yanikian & Sassounian Commandos, pemetration and attack of Turk- isn Consulate in Lyon, 4 wounded. Elack April 24th Commando, gum		bassy in Tehran, 2 guards killed & 2 fedaii captured (later marty- red by the reactionary Iranian Regime).		
	attack on Turkish diplomat in Paris, wounded heavily.	27- 3/4/1981	Armenian People's Organization, gun attack on Turkish diplomat in		
12- 3/10/80	Armenian Organization for Armed Struggle Group, bombing of Turk- ish Airlines in Milano, material damage.		Copenhagen, badly wounded.  Antranig Pasha Suicide Commando, Armenian people's judgement ex-		
	21st Commando in Europe, Bombing		ecuted on Turkish vice-Consul in		
13- 3/10/80	of Mondadori in Milano, more than 1 million dollars damage.	29-16/9/1981	Geneva, 1 fedail captured.  Martyr Hagop Darakjian Commando, bombing of Turkish Airlines in		
14- 3/10/80	Explosion in a Geneva hotel, 2 wounded comrades.	70 04/0/4B04 ·	Copenhagen, 1 dead & some wounded.		
15- 4/10/80	21st Commando in Europe, bombing		"Van Operation", Yeghin Keshishian   Suicide Commando, Take-over of the		
	of Alitalia in Madrid, some wounded & material damage.		Turkish Consulate in Paris for 15 hours.		
	Martyr Raffi Balian Commando, bombing of Turkish Consulate in Los Angeles, material damage.	31- 25/10/81	24 <sup>th</sup> of September Suicide Commando, gun attack on Turkish second sec- retary in Rome, diplomat heavily wounded & 1 fsdail wounded.		
17-12/10/80	Armenian Justice Committee, bom- bing of Turkish Travel in Los An- geles, material damage.	1- 8/10/1980	Bombing of Swiss Embassy in Beirut.		
18-12/10/80	Armenian Justice Committee, bom- bing of Turkish Mission to the	2- 8/10/1980	Destruction of Swiss ambassadors house in Beirut.		
	United Mations in New York, 35 wounded & material damage.	3- 8/10/1980	Bombing of car of the Swiss first secretary in Beirut.		
19-12/10/80	Antranig Pasha Commando, bombing of Turkish Airlines in London, material damage.	4- 9/10/1980	Bombing of SwissAir in Beirut.		
		5-12/10/1980	Bombing of SwissAir in London.		
20-10/11/80	ASALA Unit and PKK Unit, Bombing of Turkish Consulate in Strasbourg, material damage.	6-12/10/1980	Bombing of Swiss Tourist Infor- mation office in Paris.		
21-11/11/60	ASALA Unit and PKK Unit, bombing of Turkish Airlines in Rome, material damage.	7-20/10/1980	Nomb on train to Interlaken, Switzerland.		
(:/00		8-23/10/1980	Bombing of Swiss Consulat in Marseille.		
22=19/11/80	Alex Yenikomeshian Commando, bom- bang of Turkish Airlines in Rome, some wounded.	3- 4/11/1980	Two bombs exploded in the Palais de Justice of Geneva.		
23-11/12/80	Alex Yenikomeshian Commando, gun attack on Turkish diplomat in Rome, not dead.	10-9/11/1980	Destruction of the Swiss Tourist Information office and SwissAir in Rome.		
1	981 OPERATIONS •	11-25/11/1980	Bombing of Swiss bank in Geneva.		
24-13/1/1981	Alex Yenikomeshian Commando, assassination attempt on Turk- ish diplomate in Paris, heavily wounded.		Destruction of Swiss Tourist Information office and SwissAir in London.		
00 4 = 1000			Bombing of Zurich Airport radar.		
25- 4/3/1981	Shahan Nateli Suicide Commando, Armenian people's judgement ex- ecuted on 2 Turkish diplomats (of MIT) in Paris.	14-29/12/1980	Double bombing of TWA and SwissAir in Madrid.		
26-12/3/1981	Attempt to take-over Turkish Em-				

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15-30/12/1980	Bombing	ot	Credit-Suisse	in	Beirut.

- 16-27/1/1981 Destruction of SwissAir in Milano.
- 17-21/1/1981 Destruction of Swiss Consulat in Milano.
- 18-3/2/1981 Bombing of Swiss Consulat in Los Angeles.
- 19-6/2/1981 Double bombing of TWA and Air France in Paris.
- 20-20/8/1981 Destruction of Alitalia in Paris.
- 21-22/8/1981 Bombing of Olympic Airways in Paris.
- Operations of the June Ninth Organization Until 31 December 1981
- 1-26/6/1981 Bombing of Swiss bank in Los Angeles.
- 2-28/6/1981 Bombing of SwissAir in Tehran.
- 3-1/7/1981 Bombing of SwissAir in Baghdad.
- 4-19/7/1981 Bombing of Swiss Parliament in Bern.
- 5-20/7/1981 Destruction of inner department of Zurich Airport.
- 6-21/7/1981 Destruction of department store in Lausanne.
- 7-22/7/1981 Destruction of one of the major stations in Geneva.
- 8-22/7/1981 Destruction of Cornavin, Geneva.
- 9-11/8/1981 Bombing of SwissAir in Copenhagen.
- 10-20/8/1981 Bombing of Swiss watch company in Los Angeles.
- 11-16/8/1981 Bombing of Swiss Embassy in Tehran.
- 12-27/10/1981 Bombing of Swiss bank in Geneva.
- 13-3/11/1981 Bombing of SwissAir in Madrid.
- 14-3-11/1981 Double bombing of Palais de Justice in Geneva.
- 15-3-11/1981 Bombing of post office in Geneva.

Operations of the Orly Organization Until 31 December 1981

- 1- 12/11/1981 Bombing of Air France in Beirut.
- 2- 12/11/1981 Bombing of French Consul's home in Beirut.
- 3- 12/11/1981 Destruction of the French Cultural Center in Beirut.
- 4- 13/11/1981 Grenade attack on a police car in Paris.
- 5- 14/11/1981 Grenade attack on "Vedette de Paris" boat in the Seine near the Eiffel Tower.
- 6- 15/11/1981 Delay of flight from Beirut to Paris for 14 hours.
- 7- 15/11/1981 Bombing of AirFrance in Jounieh (Beirut).
- 8- 15/11/1981 Bombing of Banque Libano-Francaise in Dora (Beirut).
- 9- 15/11/1981 Bombing of Fransa Bank in Zouk Michael (Beirut).
- 10-15/11/1981 Bombing of Banque Union de Paris in Bourj Hamoud (Beirut).
- 11-15/11/1981 Destruction of MacDonald's Restaurant in Paris.
- 12-16/11/1981 Destruction of one of the most important train stations in Paris, Gare de l'Est.
- 13-21/11/1981 Bombing of AirFrance in Tehran.
- 14-21/11/1981 Bombing of the French Embassy in Tehran.
- 15- Interruption of all flights at Orly Airport for three hours.
- Operations of the September France Organization
- 1- 25/10/1981 Cafe on Champs d'Elysees destroyed.
- 2- 25/10/1981 Bombing of car on Champs d'Elysees.
- 3- 27/10/1981 Destruction of main elevator of central building of Charles DeGaulle Airport.
- 4-27/10/1981 Bombing of parking lot of Charles DeGaulle Airport.
- 5- 28/10/1981 Bombing of a car parked by the Eiffel Tower in Paris.
- 6- 28/10/1981 Bombing of police car in Paris.
- 7- 29/10/1981 Five wounded in the bombing of a cinema in Paris.

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Miscellaneous Operations by Various Armenian Groups from 1 January 1980 to 31 December 1981

- 1- 19/1/1980 Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide group bomb TWA, SwissAir and British Airlines in Madrid.
- 2- 2/2/1980 New Armenian Resistance bombs Turkish Airlines in Brussels.
- 3- 2/2/1980 New Armenian Resistance bombs Aeroflot in Paris.
- 4- 6/2/1980 Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide group wound the Turkish ambassador in Bern in an assassination attempt.
- 5- 18/4/1980 Justice Commandos for the Armenian Genocide group wound Turkish diplomat at the Vatican.
- 6-17/12/1980 Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide kill Turkish Consul with his bodyguard in Sydney.
- 7-20/11/1981 Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide bomb the Turkish Consulat in Los Angeles.

CSO: 6000/0011

#### CLANDESTINE RADIO ON ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT

GF191405 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 9 Apr 82

[Excerpts] The vanguard of the Armenian people struck once again yesterday morning at one of the fascist Turkish Government's representatives, confirming that the struggle will never cease so long as Armenian lands remain usurped and so long as the rights of the Armenian people are being trampled upon.

Yesterday morning, Canada time, the commercial attache of the Turkish Embassy in Canada, Kemal Kani Gungor, was subjected to an armed attack. The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia [ASALA], based in Ottawa, Los Angeles, Athens and Beirut, has claimed full responsibility for the operation carried out against Gungor, the agent of the fascist Turkish Government. The Turkish diplomat is currently in the hospital in extremely critical condition. He underwent surgery yesterday and there is a possibility that he will have a second operation today.

How did the event occur? Yesterday, that is Thursday, 9 April 1982, ASALA fedayeen fired at agent Kemal Kani Gungor, the commercial attache of the Turkish Embassy in Ottawa, when the agent was in his car in the garage of his apartment preparing to depart for his embassy. The shots fired at the car window penetrated the agent's chest and leg, wounding the Turkish diplomat seriously.

Yesterday, that is Thursday morning, a statement by the Turkish Embassy in Ottawa reported on ASALA's operation, saying that the commercial attache of the embassy, Kemal Kani Gungor, had been transferred to the hospital in very serious condition and his condition remained serious. The Turkish Embassy statement accused what it termed as ASALA terrorists of being responsible for the operation.

After referring to the serious condition of the commercial attach, the Turkish ambassador to Canada, Turgot Sunalp, announced that the authors of the assassination attempt were vile Armenians who would claim complete responsibility very soon. The Turkish ambassador added that Turkish diplomats have been attacked in 16 countries since 1975.

The Canadian secretary of state for external affairs, Mark MacGuigan announced that the operation had shocked him. He added: I can do nothing except express my condolences and sympathy to Gungor's wife and family.

Regarding the same event, AFP reported that initial police investigation had shown that Kani Gungor was hit by numerous bullets through his car window. The report added that the assailant or assailants succeeded in escaping from the site of the operation without leaving any trace.

ASALA's operation in Ottawa yesterday has been reported by international and Turkish media. During its noon broadcast today, the fascist Turkish Government's official radio referred extensively to the operation in Ottawa yesterday.

After expounding on the details of the attack, the Turkish announcer explained the history of the Armenian armed struggle and stated that since 1973 the Armenians have been continuously attacking Turkish diplomatic envoys and representatives and Turkish interests throughout the world. The Turkish radio also commented that since 1973 Armenian revolutionaries have (?murdered) 13 high-ranking Turkish diplomats, 4 diplomats of secondary status, 2 representatives, 1 [word indistinct] and 7 Turkish employees.

CSO: 6133/2001

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#### CLANDESTINE RADIO COMMENTS ON PEOPLE'S SUPPORT FOR ASALA

GFO 31627 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 22 Apr 82

#### [Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia [ASALA] has already (?begun) the eighth year of its activity. In order to further the work for the liberation of Armenia and the just cause of our people, the Secret Army of the Armenian People has always been independent throughout the 7 years of its existance. The army has never been the agent of any foreign organization or government. It has never received any assistance from foreign organizations or governments. ASALA has only been the agent of the Armenian people and it will keep on being so. The army's every operation and [word indistinct] in the interest of our people's and endeavors to defend these interests. ASALA has operated independently until the present. It will keep on operating independently until the final victory, that is, the return of our people to the lands of our ancestors, and the liberation of our fathernad. ASALA does not redeive any financial aid from foreign governments or organizations. It is very natural that it should have financial needs and it is also natural that the needs of the Armenian People's Army be taken care of by the Armenian people. In fact, that is what has happened. For 7 years, since the founding of the army, the Armenian people have taken care of the army's financial needs and have financed the army's operations. For 7 years, aid from rich Armenians has greatly assisted the army's activities and its successes. For 7 years, the Armenian laborers have donated their money to the secret army and have contributed to its successes. For 7 years, the Armenian people have been devotedly donating all they could, physically, financially and morally to help ASALA.

They are [word indistinct] for the armed struggle waged for the liberation of the fatherland. The fortification of ASALA today, the expansion of its operations, the success of the Armenian armed struggle and the new Armenian revolution in thrusting itself on the international political stage, the further success of the Armenian cause, the deep alarm of the Turkish Government over the Armenian cause and its (?development), the fascist Turkish representatives and Turkish diplomat's fear and trembling before the righteous bullets of the Armenian combatants have all been achieved by the devotion of the Armenian people, the [word indistinct] aid of the prosperous Armenians and the hard rock of the Armenian laborers and their [word indistinct].

The Armenian people's unlimited devotion to the armed Armenian struggle, their solidarity with the new Armenian revolution and their unlimited physical, financial and moral assistance will be recorded in the pages of Armenian history. Because of this help, we will return to our fatherland and will liberate our lands. History has already recorded and will keep on recording the names of all those worthy children of the Armenian people who have helped the armed Armenian struggle and are still helping to further the cause of our just struggle.

ASALA is the rebirth of our Armenian people and their [word indistinct]. The progressive and independent Armenian Army will continue to employ all its means to liberate the fatherland and promote the Armenian cause.

There is no doubt that the final victory will be ours. Armenia will certainly be liberated and scattered Armenians will certainly come together in their fatherland. All this will happen because of our people who have helped our army to develop and have been supporting our armed struggle.

#### CLANDESTINE RADIO URGES ARMENIANS TO 'ARISE'

GF051436 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 22 Apr 82  $^{\circ}$ 

#### [Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] It is the 67th anniversary of the April massacre. The Armenian people [word indistinct] an unforgettable grave wound 67 years ago. The largest part of the Armenian lands were usurped by Turkey. We lost one and a half million lives. However, loss of land and fatherland is not [word indistinct] and could never be so. Even the April massacre—the most horrible in Armenian history—has not been able to crush our will for revolution and endeavors for freedom.

It is April, On 24 April 1982 the Armenian SSR still exists, and the Armenians are still in Diaspora. The memory of our innocent martyrs is immortal. The unquenchable love for our fatherland is [word indistinct] in our hearts. Moreover, the Armenians in Diaspora are alive and struggling. They are struggling and will keep on doing so. The Armenian communities everywhere are arising and initiating new liberation struggles.

The 4 million Armenians in Diaspora today are certainly demanders. There is no doubt at all that the 4 million will unite and struggle together in the near future. The results achieved since the 7-year-old struggle began up to 24 April 1982 prove this point. The human losses cannot be retrieved. However, the same cannot be said about the land.

We assert that we will struggle only through our own means. Today's April once again confirms that the innocent Armenian victims have not been forgotten. Today's April proves that the Armenian liberation struggle is continuing.

Arise O you Armenians for the sake of your one and a half million martyrs, your hold land and your right to live. The thousands-year-old Ararat is looking yearningly at you. Your deliverence depends upon the liberation struggle and the liberated lands.

#### CLANDESTINE ON 24 APRIL POSTERS IN BURJ HAMMUD

GFO51446 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 22 Apr 82

#### [Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The efforts to preserve the Armenian race are still in a successful stage indeed. The protectors of Armenian race, who risk their lives for the supreme interests of the Armenian people, are continuing to remain firm in their constructive convictions. For sometime now, a new method has been used to protect the Armenian race. However, the drama to deceive the Armenians in Burj Hammud is continuing.

A few days ago, Turkish video tapes could be heard from houses in Burj Hammud. It seemed as if there was a Turkish video-tape festival in progress in that district. Moreover, after a few days, the Armenian posters were ripped off the walls. These posters were not only Armenian, they were also the posters dedicated to 24 April. Well, were those posters that cherish the memory of our one and a half million martyrs, Turkish by any chance?

This is how during these April days the Armenian posters, which are dedicated to our martyrs, are being torn down in the Armenian streets. After organizing a (?campaign) of Turkish video tapes and feasts in the clubs, the so-called protectors of Armenian origin are tearing down the 24 April posters and T-shirts in Burj Hammud and other districts. Is it disgusting for the committees engaged in distributing lottery tickets in these April days to see April 24 posters, which commemorate our one and a half million martyrs, on the walls, replaced by posters of Indian and other movies? Are the 24 April shirts being sold at Armenian shops so ugly to look at?

Nothing is (?unbelievable). Destruction of the posters dedicated to the unforgettable memory of our one and a half million martyrs was certainly expected from the so-called protectors of the Armenian origin who have been lost for 60 years in the swamps made with their own hands. There is nothing to feel surprised at. However, the most pitiable are the simple Armenian youths who are following these traditional protectors of the Armenian race. These youths know not how to respect their own martyrs and are tarnishing their memory on their own. These youths are hopeless cases.

However, the conscientious Armenian youths are certainly keeping their eyes open. They are perplexed by these [words indistinct] facts. They are watching the Armenians and are getting [word indistinct] by the way their people live. Instead of destroying the 24 April posters and shirts, these knowing youths will destroy the pretense of protecting the Armenian people and the conspirators involved.

#### CLANDESTINE REPORTS 24 APRIL DEMONSTRATIONS

GF081356 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 24 Apr 82

[Excerpts] Today at 1000, a large national demonstration was held in Athens to commemorate the memory of the April martyrs and mark the day for the perseverence of the struggle. The demonstrators marched toward the Turkish Embassy in Athens and condemned the fascist Turkish Government. The details will be broadcast to you in our next programs.

Moreover, yesterday, Friday 23 April 1982, at 1800, a large national demonstration was held in Nicosia. The demonstration was attended by the Cypriot-Armenians and progressive organizations. The Cypriot newspapers today reported on the large national demonstration and the meeting held in Nicosia yesterday and published numerous photos in which the banners of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia [ASALA] are clearly seen being carried by the Cypriot-Armenian masses.

The demonstrators marched from (?Vassily) Square in Nicosia to Independence Square, erected ASALA's red banners along the road and chanted revolutionary slogans. The slogans particularly stressed the joint struggle to be waged for the liberation of the usurped Cypriot and Armenian lands from the common enemy, the fascist Turkish Government. The oppressed Cyrpiot people and their progressive organizations fully supported the Armenian people and their just cause. The demonstration of the Cypriot-Armenians yesterday was also attended by progressive Cyrpiot organizations, mainly by EDEK representatives; Zahr el-Khatib, the revolutionary Lebanese deputy and the loyal friend of the Armenian people and Abu Sultan, the representative of the Jordanian National (Martian) Committee [name as heard].

A meeting was held after the groups arrived at Independence Square from (?Vassily) Square. A true atmosphere of international revolutionary solidarity (?prevailed) in the meeting. The meeting was addressed by (?Hadi Dimitriu) the representative of EDEK, and Zahr el-Khatib, the revolutionary deputy and the representative of the Workers League. Moreover, cables sent by the Jordanian National (Martian) Committee addressed to EDEK and the National Movement Sympathizing with ASALA, were read during the meeting.

(Garabed Pashabezian), the representative of Hagop Darakjian Benevolent Union, and Comrade Minas, the representative of the National Movement Sympathizing with ASALA, also addressed the meeting. We will broadcast the full contents of the speeches during our next programs. Meanwhile, we will brief you on the speeches that were delivered.

(?Hadi Dimitriu), the representative of EDEK stated the following: "On the occasion of the memory of the genocide, we assert that this is the memorial day of the genocide carried out against all the people. The Turkish fascism executed a genocide against the Armenian people, believing that it could own the Armenian lands. However, today, after 60 years of that genocide, the Armenian people are struggling. Revolutionaries are struggling to liberate Armenia. We condemn the genocide carried out against the Armenian people and demand the liberation of Armenia, Cyprus, Palestine, Kurdistan and El Salvador. We demand freedom for all the oppressed people. Dear Cypriot-Armenians, strengthen your struggle beyond our skies. We will take your hands in ours to liberate the Armenian lands. We will side with you in order to liberate the Armenia and Cyprus."

Comrade Minas, the representative of the National Movement Sympathizing With ASALA noted: "Today, the Hnchag, Ramgavar and Communist parties are all present at this meeting. There are no absences whatsoever, except for the agent of imperialism, the Tachnak Party. Tachnaks are unable to comprehend that the United States is the enemy of all the people. They forget that it was the United States that impelled Turkey to occupy Cyprus and the arms that converted Cyprus into a graveyard were American. Compatriots, we believe that 24 April is the day of struggle. The united struggle of the Armenian and the Cypriot people is the path to victory."

(Garabed Pashabezian), the representative of Hagop Darakjian Benevolent Union stated the following: "This is the day of struggle and revolution. The Armenian people today fully support the Cypriot people and their legal and just cause. Despite all the hindrances, ASALA has existed for 7 years in order to struggle for the liberation of Armenia and the restoration of the Armenian rights."

Zahr el-Khatib, the revolutionary deputy and the representative of the Workers League asserted that 24 April is one of the darkest pages in the human history. It is a page that is full of blood and tears and contains the memory of the suffering of a people who decided to live with dignity or to die. These people who were deported by force and dispersed throughout the world after the 1915 massacre, that aimed for their annihilation, are still surviving today. Long live the Armenian people; long live the Cypriot people; long live the Arab people and long live the solidarity of the people who struggle for freedom, liberation and peace."

The Jordanian National (Martian) Committee's cable addressed to the National Movement Sympathizing with ASALA, noted: "The memory of 24 April must never be forgotten or perish, in order that you strengthen your revolutionary

struggle and increase your ranks against the Turkish fascism which is the ally of international imperialism. We convey our greetings to all the revolutionary combatants of the struggling Armenian people who are headed by ASALA-our firm ally. Long live Armenian and Arab revolutionary solidarity. Long live international revolutionary solidarity. The victory is for our united struggle."

#### ASALA CALLS ON INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION

GF091215 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 24 Apr 82

[The call of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) to international public opinion on the occasion of 24 April]

[Excerpts] Once again we find ourselves in front of 24 April. April 24 signifies events that became meaningful for the Armenian people. The Turkish fascist authorities organized the massacre of the Armenian people 67 years ago so that the occupied Armenian lands would be devoid of their genuine inhabitants and nobody would demand lands from Turkey. In order to make certain of this aim, the Turkish authorities massacred more than 1 and 1/2 million Armenians. The [?survivors] among our people were deported from their fatherland and were dispersed throughout the world. Our people today continued to suffer the consequences of the massacre organized by Turkey and have become the victims of the contradictions of Diaspora. The Turkish fascist regime today continues to extort and pressure our compatriots living in Turkey. Moreover, the Turkish authorities are attempting to destroy our historic landmarks, symbols of Armenian civilization and our past, so as to finally erase the traces of the Armenian people's existence. Those chiefly responsible for this situation are the imperialist governments who support and defend Turkey by all means. Imperialist forces are encouraging the Turkish policy of exploitation and oppression. The Armenian people could no longer remain silent against all these said injustices. This is why our people determined to struggle with all their power in order to liberate the occupied lands and regain the Armenian people's right to self-determination.

Moreover, the vanguards of our people are not only struggling against Turkey but are also forced to struggle against the imperialist allies of the fascist Turkish Government, who are pursuing our revolutionaries and pressuring our communities in the Diaspora. Last year was full of evidences which served to clarify the firm relationship between the imperialist forces and the Turkish Government. However, whatever difficulties come across the path of our struggle, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia [ASALA] once again reveals its firm conviction that the Armenian people will continue to struggle and the Armenian armed struggle will continue to achieve new victories. The Armenian people by their solidarity with all the oppressed people will succeed in striking at the fascist Turkish Government and the imperialist

forces. The Armenian people will succeed in thrusting forward the Armenian and various other oppressed people's causes. The previous operations of our fedayeens are the best examples of the achieved successes. The climax of these successes was the historic Van operation during which our revolutionaries occupied the Turkish Embassy in Paris for 15 hours, proving that the Armenian people's struggle will never cease until the restoration of our just rights.

On the occasion of 24 April, ASALA calls on all the peoples and international public opinion to support all the just causes. We demand that international public opinion condemn the Turkish [words indistinct] government. Long live the solidarity of the people who are deprived of their rights. Long live the just causes of all the people. (?Downfall for) imperialism, the Turkish fascist government and all those fascist governments who exploit the peoples and ravish their rights. Freedom for all the oppressed people in the world.

[Signed] 24 April, 1982, ASALA

cso: 6133/2001

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#### CLANDESTINE RADIO ON ASALA CALL TO STRUGGLE

GFO81955 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 24 Apr 82

[The call of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, ASALA, to the Armenian people on 24 April 1982--read by announcer]

[Excerpts] Armenian people, on the occasion of the 24 April struggle day, we recall the memory of our 1 and 1/2 million martyrs who died during the massacre organized by the Turkish authorities 67 years ago.

Sixty-seven years after the massacre, a large part of the Armenian people today are facing the harsh and difficult truth of the Diaspora. They are living deprived of their fatherland and rights. Moreover for scores of years they have been suffering the consequences of local regional and international political crises and various other complications merely because they are deprived of their fatherland and are living away from it. On the other hand, while the Armenians in Diaspora are living in this sitation, the Armenian identity is forming on the east banks of the Arax. On this day of struggle which evokes the memory of the most violent genocide in human history, we look at our small fatherland, the Armenian SSR, which rose from the ruins. While dispersed throughout the world, we are watching with eyes which are yearning for a fatherland how the progressive public in mother Armenia are forge's ahead every day and every year and how the Armenian identity is becoming enlightened. The Armenian SSR is flourishing alongside the ruins of Ani and Kars. The Armenian SSR is the sole hope and foothold of all the Armenians in the world. Let us fortify our small fatherland and the bright future will be ours.

Armenian people, after 60 long years of silence and [word indistinct] we have initiated a struggle to regain our rights and establish our own government. The 7-year-old struggle of our people is aimed at the fascist Turkish Government which is supported by imperialism. Our 7-year-old struggle has developed and been popularized. It has currently entered into a new stage, a stage in which the children of the Armenian people are gathering around the struggle.

The armed struggle has become the genuine expression of all the Armenians who are supporting the combatants of our vanguard and donating all their capabilities and decisiveness to these fighters. On the occasion of the 24 April

struggle day. We call on all the Armenians throughout the world to join the struggle being waged and further strengthen the national liberation struggle by all possible means. We call on the Armenian masses to support and aid the armed struggle financially, physically and morally.

It is up to the Armenian people to assemble on a large scale around the armed struggle, away from all types of polarization and divisiveness.

Let us congregate around our revived fatherland, the Armenian SSR, and defend it decisively against all dangers and threats. Let us defend our small fatherland with all our power so that it becomes the basic center and the starting point for our struggle to liberate our occupied lands in Western Armenia. On the 24 April struggle day, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia [ASALA] assures the unquenchable spirits of our 1 and 1/2 million martyrs, the martyrs of our 7-year-old struggle and all the Armenian people that it will continue thearmed struggle waged for the liberation of Armenia until our people achieve the rights for self-determination in our fatherland and until final victory. Let us renew our vow. with the [word indistinct] blood of our thousands of martyrs -- the vow for struggle and perseverence. Let us embrace and (?welcome) the promising future together through a united front and one word. Eternal memory for our thousands of martyrs. Eternal memory for our Fedayeens who died during the 7-year-old armed struggle. Long live the revived Armenian revolution. Long live the Armenian youths who are constantly alert and conscientious. Long live the solidarity of the Armenians who are assembled around the national liberation struggle.

[Signed] 24 April 1982, ASALA.

#### CLANDESTINE ON FRENCH MINISTER'S STATEMENT

GF101732 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT  $27~\mathrm{Apr}~82$ 

#### [Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Following French Interior Minister Gaston Defferre's announcement in front of the monument to our 1.5 million martyrs of April in Marseille, French-Turkish state and diplomatic relations are gradually deteriorating. Yesterday, 26 April 1982, the Turkish Foreign Ministry issued a communique protesting Interior Minister Defferre's statement as creating an encouraging atmosphere for Armenian terrorism.

On 24 April Gaston Defferre announced in front of the monument to our martyrs in Marseille that France will follow up the Armenian cause. However, at the same time he called on the French Armenians not to employ harsh methods in expressing the demands of the Armenian people.

In October French Defense Minister Charles Hernu said: An FRG prime minister kneeled before the crimes of the Nazis. Will the Turks perform a similar [word indistinct]?

The Turkish Foreign Ministry communique added that it has kept President Evren informed about the French announcement regarding the alleged genocide and Armenians. The communique noted that during its recent session the Turkish cabinet had discussed the issue. The communique also said that so-called Armenian terrorists had killed six Turkish diplomats in France and launched numerous attacks on Turkish embassies.

The Turkish communique noted that despite frequent warnings by the Turkish Government, the French Government continues with its policy in favor of Armenians. It added that Gaston Defferre's recent announcements are the latest proof of this policy.

It should also be mentioned that on 25 April Adnan Bulak, the Turkish ambassador to France, warned France that observance of Armenian genocide day in France would strain French-Turkish relations.

The 67th anniversary of the Armenian massacre was marked on a very high level in Paris. More than 7,000 Armenians attended a rally. They carried 1,000 flags displaying the armorial ensigns of the Armenian Secret Army for Liberation [ASALA]. The rally was organized by the Armenian National Assembly around ASALA organization [as heard]. The demonstrators rallied in front of the Turkish Embassy and condemned the massacre of the Armenians.

Moreover, Ara Koranian, one of the leaders of the Armenian National Assembly around ASALA organization in France, delivered a 25-minute speech on 23 and 24 April on Channel 2 of the French television. Koranian expounded on the Armenian massacre, Turkish fascism, the Armenian cause and ASALA. He also clarified the army's political aims and spoke of the new liberation struggle of the Armenian people.

Although it is true that Gaston Defferre's statement will result in a deterioration of French-Turkish relations, Defferre's announcement included nothing in favor of the Armenian people and their just cause. Gaston Defferre's statement is unacceptable. Defferre openly stressed that the Armenian people must end the armed struggle. He even advised us to abandon the struggle so that the Armenian people would return to the same passive state that they were in before 1975.

Let us also not forget Defferre's deceptive promises. It is already known to all of us that during the Van operation he has promised the Yeghia Keshishian suicidal commandos the status of political refugees if they withdrew from the embassy. However, the four heroes are still imprisoned in French jails.

It is also clear that Defferre contradicted himself regarding the successes of the Armenian people's armed struggle. If the Armenian people had not used so-called harsh means, Defferre could not have made such announcements and French-Turkish relations need not have deteriorated. Defferre and all his kin must know that it is because of so-called harsh action that the Armenian cause today is progressing and the Turkish Government is facing difficult times.

#### CLANDESTINE CONDEMNS DESTRUCTION OF 24 APRIL POSTERS

GF111230 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 27 Apr 82

#### [Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The condemnable disputes among the parties in Diaspora over the past 50 years have been deeply abhored by those who are not party members. These disputes not only retarded the progress of the Armenian cause but also resulted in immorality for pure-spirited Armenians. The situation was so bad that the killing among brothers became a daily fact. We do not wish to recall the details of those dark days once again.

Yes, we are ashamed to recall even a single event that occurred during those 50 years. Instead of blessing us, our 1.5 million martyrs are cursing us from their graves, because you, 0 traitors, converted their prayers into curses.

Because of your selfish interests, you forgot the revenge of the Armenians and the massacre by the fascist Turks. All of us rejoiced and forgot the shameful deeds when we decided to mark the 50th anniversary of our martyrs together. O unfortunate 50th, 60th, 67th anniversaries; O unfortunate Armenian martyrs, open your eyes for a moment and watch your Armenian children who just a short while ago vowed to band together and convert your curses into blessings.

Immortal and holy Armenian martyrs, we are not worthy of your blessings. We are not even worth being called your heirs because the ones that you had forgiven are once again plotting against their own brothers.

O worshipful Armenian martyrs, once again look around and see how Armenian Cains are pursuing their own brothers Abel. They have begun to destroy monuments which represent your immortal memory, 24 April. These shameful deeds were witnessed in Athens, Beirut, Leon, Cyprus and Los Angeles where the Armenian Cains tore down the 24 April posters representing our 1.5 million martyrs set up by the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia.

Yes, dear compatriots, we deserve our martyrs' insults and not their blessings.

#### CLANDESTINE OPPOSES ARMENIAN IMMIGRATION

GF120547 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 29 Apr 82

#### [Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The Turkish [word indistinct] has always been the aggressor in history. It is enough to recall the events which have occurred over the past 20 years, such as the occupation of Syrian lands, the attack on Cyprus, the (?aggressions) against Greece, and the violent pressure on the Kurdish revolutionary movements. The Turkish Government has not been content with all this. It has continued Tal'at's and Ataturk's anti-Armenian policy. Just because the said policy is pursued covertly, our people believe that Turkey has left the Armenians alone.

Following the 1915 massacre, during 1920-25 [word indistinct], Turkey played its great and (?undeniable) role in the Nakhichevan's [word indistinct] in Armenian SSR and has continued its anti-Armenian policy under the cover of foreign and Armenian establishments.

For numerous years the Armenians in Diaspora were engaged in the rehabilitation work in the countries they settled in. Meanwhile, the leaders of the Turkish tyranny were very well aware of the fact that the Armenian people's revival would mean the revival of the Armenian cause. In particular there was the possibility that the Armenians who settled in the Arab world could become stronger and pose a threat because they were near the occupied lands.

The Turkish plan was obvious. It was necessary to destroy the Armenians in the Middle East. In carrying out this plan, the main role was played by the United States, aided and guided by Turkey. The UNCHR offices were established. It was alleged that these offices would aid the Armenians. In fact, they were engaged in the traitorous mission of transporting the Armenians in the Middle East to the United States. On the other hand, the Armenian reactionaries cooperated with U.S. imperialism and gave [word indistinct] excuses regarding the plan. They did not wish to see the revival of the Armenian revolutionary movements in the Middle East. They were opposed to these movements and threatened Armenian communities. There are other examples. Until (?1952) there were 50,000 Armenians residing in Egypt. Due to the reasons

already mentioned, these Armenians immigrated to the United States and today there are only 15,000 Armenians in Egypt. The Syrian-Armenians in that period had numbered 200,000, while today there are only 150,000 Armenians left there. There were 35,000 Armenians in Iran. Today there are only 10,000 left. There were 70,000 Armenians in Greece, which was one of UNCHR's [word indistinct], while today there are 15,000 Armenians there. We can also consider the state of the Armenians in Iran and Lebanon during the war when they were in need of leaders. In peacetime these leaders made speeches; in war they deserted the people and left for places of peace and security.

What [words indistinct] the revival of the Armenian cause. It was never dead and is not dead even today. The immigation of the 1/2 million Armenians from all over the world including the Armenian SSR was advantageous to the United States. But for how long? Until our people discover this plan. This state of affairs still continues. It can only be stopped by the (?aware) and clever Armenians waging their combined struggle against everything that threatens our people's interests in the Middle East and the Armenian SSR.

How long will we keep on feeding Turkish (?nationalism) and that of the Armenian reactionaries who have anti-Armenian aims? How long will we keep on celebrating the anniversaries of the Turkish (?agency) UNCHR, which is the (?butchershop) of imperialists in the United States—the graveyard of Armenians? So much depends on the answers to these questions.

CLANDESTINE RADIO ASSAILS 'REACTIONARIES'

GF111510 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 29 Apr 82

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] How long and how far? Certainly, until suffocation.

The Armenian reactionaries are drowning in the [word indistinct] created with their own hands. (?Feeling their end near), they have come out with their final yellow poison. The reactionaries are employing all types of means to erase the hardly cleared path of Armenia. On the occasion of the commemoration of the 67th anniversary of the genocide, the Armenian reactionary Tachnak party leaders have begun killing their own people. Armenian youths who sympathize with the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia [ASALA] are being run down. The national masses are being pressured. The dying leaders are hitting their [word indistinct] in Los Angeles, Lyon, Beirut, Tehran, Athens, Nicosia and Bruj Hammud. Due to the continuous action and pressures against the Armenians, the situation is becoming grave.

An Armenian youth was shot in Los Angeles because he was sticking ASALA posters on a wall. Similarly, four Armenian youths were tortured in Lyon for the same reason. A wreath laid in front of the Armenian monument in Tehran has been torn apart because it bore ASALA's name. The 24 April posters and shirts have been destroyed in Burj Hammud for the same (?reason). Moreover, cruelty was also practiced in Burj Hammud against a humble Armenian family. Two criminals, high on narcotics supplied by their party leaders, entered the house of an Armenian family and shot at their two sons, pretending a dispute over 150 Lebanese pounds. They kidnapped the third son and took him to their gambling center, the party club. The violence did not end there. The crusader of the district arrived on the site and, after being informed that the dispute was among Armenians, shot at the family's house. This is how those act who preach that their only enemies are the Turks. The knights of darkness [words indistinct] have been able to convert word into action. The [word indistinct] is by genocide, violence and killing of the Armenians.

The Armenian reactionaries are living their final moments. They have increased their intrigues against the Armenian people. Still, it is up to the Armenian people to unite and liberate themselves from all types of vile deeds, actions and tyranny.

#### CLANDESTINE ON CYPRIOT PARLIAMENT DECISION

GF151553 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 1 May 82

[Text] The Armenian people and the 7-year-old armed political struggle of their vanguard, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenian [ASALA], achieved a new success yesterday. The Cypriot parliament adopted a decision in favor of the Armenians and unanimously condemned the massacre executed by Turkey 67 years ago. The decision also demanded the full restoration of the Cypriot people's rights. Moreover, it assailed the occupation of southern Cyprus by the Turkish forces in 1974.

In fact, the Cypriot parliament unanimously accepted the legitimacy and righteousness of the Armenian cause by adopting a decision advantageous to the Armenian people. The points of the decision are as follows:

- 1. It assails the massacre executed against the Armenians which resulted in their deportation from their lands.
- 2. It defends the Armenian people's just rights to return to their lands.
- 3. It notes the longlasting fraternal relations between the local Cypriots and the Armenians, and the Armenian participation in the country's political, economic and cultural life.
- 4. It accepts this attitude of solidarity as the best proof that all Cypriot people are able to live united without discrimination by race, religion or nationality.
- 5. It condemns the crime executed by the Turks against the Cypriot people in 1974.

[Words indistinct] was unanimously adopted by the Cypriot parliament following Armenian Deputy Aram Kalajian's 15 minutes speech. The speech influenced the parliament greatly. The resolution was prepared and represented by EDEK and Deputy Aram Kalajian. After being adopted by the foreign relations committee, the resolution was dispatched to the parliament, and as we have mentioned, was adopted unanimously.

On Aram Kalajian's request, the parliament will dispatch the said decisions to all the parliaments throughout the world. CSO: 6113/2001

#### ARMENTAN CLANDESTINE ASSAILS WESTERN MEDIA

GF151616 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 1 May 82

#### [Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] When Western media report on the operations of the Armenian revolutionaries, they often call them extremists. However, we are never surprised when these sources define us as extremists. On numerous occasions we have proved the Western media's [words indistinct] to imperialism.

We are only surprised by the political (?immaturity), military perversity and the ignorance of the West. We, the Armenian revolutionaries are very well aware of the West's mean and diabolic (?plot). By calling the Armenian revolutionary movements extremist, they want to establish a (?gap) between the Armenian people and their revolutionary organization. We believe that the Armenian people because their majority are convinced of the purity of the Armenian revolutionaries; struggle and their [words indistinct].

The Western imperialist countries are very well aware of the legitimacy of the Armenian struggle. However, they believe that the Armenian people's struggle will hinder their imperialist plans.

Finally we want to explain who is the moderate and who is the extremist. If the Western media understand that a moderate Armenian is the opportunist who neglects the Armenian rights and plots against the Armenian revolutionary organization, then we have only one definition for such a person: a traitor who deserves death. If they understand the Armenian extremist as the one who is devoted, defends Armenian rights, struggles for Armenian unification and the achievement of Armenian rights [words indistinct], then we have only one definition for such a person: a devoted fighter who is worthy of [words indistinct].

We are not only extremists in this struggle, we are even ready to become fanatics if we become convinced that such a step will be advantageous to our people.

cso: 6133/2001

#### CLANDESTINE ON TURKISH DIPLOMAT'S ASSASSINATION

GF180410 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 6 May 82

[Text] Orhan Gunduz, a Turkish honorary consul, was (?assassinated) on Tuesday night in Somerville. As is known, the Justice Gommandos of Armenian genocide have claimed responsibility for the killing. U.S. President Ronald Reagan condemned the operation and stated that no quarter will be provided to terrorists in the United States. Meanwhile, the White House, which consideres itself the friend of the Turkish Government, announced that it joins the Turkish Government and weeps over this foul deed.

On the occasion of the said killing, Alec Yenikomushian, member of the Central Committee of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia [ASALA], in response to a question from the English international NEWSWEEK, said yesterday that ASALA supports the operation by the Justice Commandos and at the same time Gemands that they make their political view clear and not become prey to the intrigues by reactionary leaders.

Let us hear Alec Yenikomushian's answer to NEWSWEEK: [Passage indistinct]. We, ASALA, fully support the action in (?Boston) yesterday by the Justice Commandos of the Armenian genocide during which Orhan Gunduz, the Turkish honorary consul in Boston, was (?killed). We fully support that action because it was within the framework of our people's struggle against our basic enemy and [word indistinct].

Armed struggle is one of the basic means to liberate our people and land. We believe that military operations are not enough. The political path must be clarified. We believe the political course of the Justice Commandos has not been clarified enough because it does not (?specifically) define the main enemies of our people. Consequently, our friends the Justice Commandos must clarify their political aims and take care that they are not exploited by certain reactionary Armenian elements.

#### ASALA LEADER ON ARMS SMUGGLING

GF180428 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 6 May 82

[Summary from poor reception] Based upon information received from Turkish security sources, the Turkish reactionary daily HURRIYET reported yesterday that 800 people have been arrested in southern Turkey for being involved in a major arms smuggling operation. According to HURRIYET, the arms were destined for the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia [ASALA]. HURRIYET notes that the operation was organized by the (?Ocerco) Northern Cyprus Company, located in the Turkish part of Cyprus, and adds that the company had supplied ASALA all types of arms manufactured in Europe and the Middle East. Turkish security forces stated that the company was directed by (Movses Keuleian), a Cypriot-Armenian, and had branches in the Netherlands, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon and agents in southern provinces of Turkey.

According to the same sources, the customs director of Famagusta Port in Cyprus disappeared 2 days ago after being discharged by the interior minister of the Turkish part of Cyprus. According to the Turkish sources, the customs director, in league with the director of the (?Ocerco) Northern Cyprus Company, has been smuggling arms to the Greek part of Cyprus from where they were dispatched to a Middle Eastern country and then handed to ASALA. Two years ago (?63) carriers coming from Europe disappeared after entering Turkish territory and delivering goods to the (?Ocerco) Northern Cyprus Company.

On this occasion Alec Yenikomushian, member of ASALA Central Committee, made this announcement to an international news agency today: "In response to the news concerning the arrest of people in southern Turkey who were smuggling arms for ASALA, we, the ASALA, announce that such arrests will not be able to hinder our struggle against the fascist Turkish Government. Meanwhile, we sternly warn the Turkish authorities that our reply is near at hand and that our blow will be very hard."

CSO: 6113/2001

#### ASALA ASKS FOR ASSISTANCE FROM ARMENIAN SSR

GF181930 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 7 May 82

#### [Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The Armenian revolution organized during the past years has perturbed the Armenian bourgeoisie. These individuals who were helped by the protectors of Armenian origin, the [word indistinct] constitutions in Diaspora and led by the conservative organizations, have begun a campaign against Armenian revolutionary organizations and [words indistinct]. However, it is expected that through the progress of the revolutionary struggle and the expansion of the revolutionary organization [words indistinct] will increase.

The Armenian SSR is in the Soviet Union. This clear truth is avoided by our conservatives. Regarding this fact, we will try to explain the strong ties between the Armenian revolution and the Armenian SSR and the stand of the Armenian revolutionaries in Diaspora and their feelings toward the Soviet Union in general and the Armenian SSR in particular.

Owing to the socialist revolution, the Armenian SSR adopted the most economically and socially progressive constitution in human history. At a time when the Third World countries are being [word indistinct] socially and economically torn apart by international imperialism, the Armenian SSR is making progress.

There is no comparison between Armenian lands occupied by Turkey and the Armenian SSR. After the socialist revolution took place in tsarist Russia, human society has made much progress in the Soviet Union. This fact is proved by Soviet history. Is their system the best? Or are there faults? Should there be any reformation in the Soviet Union and the Armenian SSR? Yes, absolutely. It is not possible to expect otherwise, because no force exists which can resist the [word: indistinct] of human history.

The Armenian revolution is [word indistinct], progressing and swelling its ranks. This is what the young men have proved in the Middle East, Europe and the United States. Consequently, the Armenian revolution should qualify as a struggle waged for human progress. The Armenian revolution should be able to analyze the [word indistinct] of history and not stick to obsolete

attitudes such as the traditionalists have. The traditionalists still do not understand that it is not possible to return the Armenian SSR, which was established through a socialist revolution, to the bourgeoisie ranks.

There remains only one way for our revolution. This way has two parts:

- 1. Developing the socialist and economic system of the Armenian SSR.
- 2. Gathering the Armenians in Diaspora in the liberation lands and creating an economic and social system that will not contradict the constitution of the Armenian SSR and which should not hinder any future union.

The Armenian revolution should be able to make the Armenian SSR a strong revolutionary foothold. That is why the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia [ASALA] regards the Armenian SSR as an already liberated territory, and the Soviet Union a friend of our revolution. This is why we call for assistance from our fatherland, the Armenian SSR.

JORDANIAN COMMITTEES SUPPORT ASALA

GF181451 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 7 May 82

[Text of the telegram from the Jordanian Popular (?Martian) Committees to the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia on the occasion of anniversary of 24 April]

[Summary from poor reception] Friends of the Political Bureau of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia [ASALA], on the occasion of the commemoration of the genocide carried out by the fascist Turkish Government against the heroic Armenian people, we, the leaders and members--in the name of the struggling Jordanian people--vow to continue our united struggle against our enemies. The memory of the 24 April must be an impetus for the Armenian people and for the mobilization of their revolutionary struggle. The vanguard of this struggle is ASALA. Due to your revolution the whole world has come to know about the Armenian cause; a cause which Turkish fascism, imperialism and its agents are attempting to hide. Our friends, the imperialist hostility is manifest against the Arab world and Jordan. The revolutionary struggle of the world's peoples is a united struggle for liberation, progress and recovery of the fatherland. ASALA represents the Armenian people's struggle being waged against Turkish fascists who have occupied their lands and have annihilated 2 million Armenians. We are certain that the Armenian people will come out victorious at the end of their struggle. We are convinced that the Armenian people will return to their fatherland one day and decide their own future. Our friends, in the name of the Jordanian Popular (?Martian) Committees and our people's struggling sons, we vow to struggle together for the freedom and independence of our people. We stress the necessity of solidarity among all the revolutionaries in the region, aimed at resisting schemes of imperialist, Zionist, reactionary and fascist Turkish plots. Once again we confirm our solidarity. The struggle people will win in the end.

[Signed] Jordanian Popular (?Martian) Committees

cso: 6133/2001

# WORKERS LEAGUE ADVOCATES ASALA-ARAB FRONT

GF181306 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 7 May 82

[Text of the telegram from Workers League organization Central Committee to Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia of the anniversary of 24th of April]

[Summary from poor reception] Friends of the Political Bureau of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia [ASALA], the 67th anniversary of the Armenian genocide by the Turks coincides with the stage when the Armenian people's cause is undergoing a complete revival and is entering a new phase, owing to the efforts of Armenian people's vanguard. The anniversary of the genocide renews the solidarity of the Armenian and Arab people, and proves the importance of the strategic alliance of the Armenian and Arab revolutionaries for the establishing of a Middle Eastern Revolutionary Front. This front will resist the imperialists, Zionists and reactionaries and will further the struggle of the people in the Middle East. The Workers League regards the Armenian cause as one of the most vital causes in the world. It supports the Armenian people's cause and their right to self-determination and their return to their fatherland. ASALA has started a struggle for the liberation of the Armenian lands and for the establishment of a united Armenia. My friends, accept our warm greetings. We will remain your revolutionary friends until Armenia lands in the Arab world are liberated. Death to the imperialist, Zionist, and the reactionary front. Down with Turkish occupation. Long live ASALA. Long live the united Armenian-Arab movement. The victory is ours.

[Signed] Workers League Central Committee

cso: 6133/2001

#### BAHRAIN POPULAR FRONT SUPPORTS ASALA

GF181440 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 7 May 82

[Text] Of the telegram by the Central Committee of the Bahrain Popular Front to ASALA.]

[Text] Friends of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia [ASALA], revolutionary greetings to you. On the occasion of the 67th anniversary of the Armenian genocide by the fascist Turks, the Central Committee of the Bahrain Popular Front expresses its solidarity with your struggle and the Armenian people's cause. It supports the Armenian fighters who are doing their utmost to further the Armenian cause for the return of the Armenian people to their lands. Your cause is a cause of oppressed people who have been subjected to nationalistic aims (?and is one) with the Palestinian and Arab struggle.

The Zionists and imperialists are attempting to [word indistinct] the Palestinian people's lands and convert Palestine into a U.S. imperialist base and make it a constant and staunch [word indistinct] against the peoples of that region, including the [word indistinct] of the Armenian people. However, the present heroic struggles that these peoples are waging against imperialism for the determination of their national future, confirm that justice certainly succeeds when it is supported by a struggling people who remain righteous. The past heroic struggles have proved that a just cause is supported by all the socialist forces and governments of the world who are the defenders of freedom and progress. Once again we express our solidarity with the Armenian cause. We rightly believe that the Armenian people will come out victorious (if) they continue the path of [word indistinct] and struggle.

[Signed] Bahrain Popular Front Central Committee

#### KURDISH REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES SUPPORT ASALA

GF191404 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] of the telegram from the Kurdish Revolutionary Committees to ASALA on the occasion of the anniversary of 24 April]

[Text] Friends of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia [ASALA], greetings on your struggle. It is the 67th anniversary of 24 April 1915 when the Turkish fascists committed genocide against 1 and 1/2 million Armenians, and those who lived were deported from their fatherland. Friends of the united struggle and common fate, all of us are full of hope that the Armenian people will achieve their aims and determine their own future under the leadership of the revolutionary ASALA. Friends, our fate is one.

After annihilating the Armenian people, the Turkish fascists massacred 47,000 Kurds. We foresee the further unification of our struggle. Similarly, on 24 April 1974, the Iraqi Government carried out a [word indistinct] slaughter in Kurdistan in which 4,000 Kurdish women, old people and children were killed. We, the Kurdish Revolutionary Committees, call on you to let 24 April be the starting point for the solidarity of the Armenian and Kurdish people throughout the world for the liberation of Kurdistan and Armenia. Long live the struggle of Armenians for their right to self-determination. Long live world liberation movements. Long live international solidarity.

[Signed] Kurdish Revolutionary Committees, Lebanon

# CLANDESTINE ON FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY ANNOUNCEMENT

 ${\tt GF221830}$  (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] The Politburo of the French Unified Socialist Party [PSU] has issued an announcement in which it fully supports the Armenian people. It is worth mentioning that this is the first French political party to officially and honestly adopt a stand in favor of the Armenian people. The announcement of the PSU is as follows:

Victims of the massacre organized by the fascist Turkish Government, the Armenian people have been dispersed throughout the world for 60 years and have been deprived of their most basic national rights and their fatherland. After 60 years of silence, the Armenian people have succeeded in reviving their just national cause in international [word indistinct] through their struggling organizations.

The PSU supports the Armenian cause and will endeavor to find a permanent and just solution for the struggle waged by the Armenian people against Turkish fascism and imperialism. Regarding President Francois Mitterrand's statements about human rights, the PSU demands that the French Government (?openly) and decisively recognize and condemn the 1915 massacre of the Armenians. The PSU will strive to have the French Socialist Government assail the fascist Turkish (?Government) in international courts and recognize the historic truth about the Armenian genocide, so that the Armenian people achieve their national rights and return to their fatherland, which is occupied by Turkish fascism.

#### CLANDESTINE RADIO ON ARMENIAN POPULAR MOVEMENTS

GF311510 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 18 May 82

[Article published in (HAYASTAN HAY BAYKAR) magazine-no date given]

[Summary from poor reception] The first popular movement to sympathize with the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia [ASALA] was established in Iran. Similar movements were established later in five Canadian and U.S. cities and cities in South America, England, France and India. Each week we hear about the establishment of similar movements in a new country or city.

Many people are unable to understand the meaning of this new development. We must take into consideration the fact that for the first time in life in Diaspora such political movements are being established in individual Armenian communities. The second fact is the political awakening of the Armenians in Diaspora. Never before have such popular demonstrations, meetings, political activities, newspapers, pamphlets and posters been organized by the widely scattered Armenian people. The Armenians in Diaspora, who have been politically inactive to date, are beginning a new life.

In one of his books in 1946, Levon (Tornigian), who had been a prominent Tachnak leader in France for a long tiem, stated that out of 1 million Armenians living abroad the number of party members did not exceed 20,000, that is to say, they constituted 2 percent of the total. However, the picture was different in 1980, prior to the establishment of new political movements. Out of 2.5 million Armenians, only 0.2 percent were party members.

This fact suffices for people of whatever political or party tendency to gladly welcome the establishment of new movements—fact is that these movements established in Diaspora are assembled around a struggling organization, ASALA. This cannot be said for the parties that led the Armenians to political death and neglected the struggle for a return to the homeland and for self-determination.

Furthermore, whatever the differences among the various Armenian communities, the problems of an Armenian in Beirut or in Los Angeles remain the same. The common problem is land. The lack of a land is such a dominating factor that

the rest of the problems become secondary. ASALA activities are aimed at achieving the restoration of Armenian land. The struggle for land is the aim of the army and the people assembled around it.

The Armenians in Diaspora are waking up after a long sleep and are firmly progressing toward a new phase—the organization of a new Armenian revolutionary party to be the sole party in Diaspora. It will be the only party that will undertake full responsibility of the struggle for liberation. This is the path laid down by the Armenian Army. This is the target of the newly established Armenian political movements.

### CLANDESTINE CALLS FOR REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

GF311845 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 19 May 82

### [Unattributed commentary]

[Summary] The progress of the armed struggle coincides with the corrosion of the conservatives in Diaspora. The conservatives can keep on preaching their futile revolution; it is their achievements that count in the end. Their achievements display the tragic picture of Diaspora. The revolutionary liberation struggle of the Armenian revolutionaries will assemble the Armenians in one place.

Our struggle and our people have spread throughout the world. The genocide, the deportation and the current immigration brought Armenians face to face with a difficult situation. The only way out of this state of affairs is revolutionary struggle. Revolutionary struggle cannot be separated from armed struggle.

Geographic basis, and in our situation our geographic basis is our usurped lands and the Middle East. We are aware that our lands are devoid of their true inhabitants and that the struggle must be waged on our lands. However, awareness alone is not enough; it must be converted into deeds. Awareness is meaningless if further futile years are added to the past 67 years.

In order to avoid this, revolutionary struggle for the liberation of our usurped lands is a necessity. There are Armenians in the United States. Therefore, we have to struggle in that country. The same applies to Canada. Remaining indifferent to this fact deadlocks our struggle. Our aim is to break the 67-year-long conservative deadlock.

Our scattered state is an inconvenience. Our existence away from our lands is a calamity. This is the truth which cannot be avoided.

We agree that the Middle East must be the geographic basis of our struggle. We agree that our aim is not to wage a struggle in the United States or Europe. However, we are also aware that the majority of our people are found in these regions. Therefore, starting from these regions, we will return to the Middle East and then to our lands. CSO: 6113/2001

# ASALA'S CLANDESTINE 'VOICE OF LEBANESE ARMENIANS' REPORT

### On Madiro Djamgochian's Letter

GF011650 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 22 May 82

["Text of letter from Martiros Djamgochian, arrested in Geneva on 9 July 1981 for assassinating a Turkish diplomat, sent on 24 April from a Swiss prison]

[Text] Dear friends, a year has passed and I am still in prison in Geneva. I watched with great interest the 24 April programs on the Armenian genocide on French and Swiss television. Swiss television twice relayed the "Present Times" program during which a [word indistinct] reporter was interrogating my (?father) about me before I came to Geneva. I was deeply moved. A second program on Swiss television was aimed at acquainting Swiss citizens with the Armenian cause. It was very interesting.

Some Swiss Armenians have no idea about the Armenian cause and are doing nothing to understand it. It is disappointing that they have forgotten their lost fatherland which we want to refind. If the Armenians wish to refind their fatherland, return to it and live there, the most important thing for them is to acquaint themselves with our history, the genocide and its consequences.

We, the young Armenians who want a free Armenia for ourselves and our families, are accused of being terrorists. This is totally wrong. The real terrorists who have spread terror and fear and are still doing so are those responsible for the genocide and its consequences. They handed Western Armenia to [words indistinct] in order to establish their bases there. The best solution for us, the Armenians, is alliance with Turkish and Kurdish revolutionaries and joint struggle until our final victory.

I saw a new program on Swiss television today during which a discussion was held between a Swiss Armenian and Turk. It was very interesting. The Turkish professor did not know that a genocide had been carried out against the Armenians by the Turks. He had forgotten. He talked like the Turkish Government.

I send my warmest regards to all my friends. I hope that our victory will be verified as soon as possible and that I and my friends will be freed.

I am well physically and mentally. Do not worry about me. Everything is going well. I am waiting the review of the verdict issued against me, but I still do not know when it will take place.

[Signed] Mardinos Djamgochian, Geneva, 24 April 1982

On South American Armenians

GF011544 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT  $20 \, \text{May} \, 82$ 

[Article from April issue of (HAYASTAN AZAD HAY), organ of Population Movement of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia : in South America]

[Summary] On 24 April 1981, 40,000 Armenians rallied in Tehran displaying the armorial ensigns of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia [ASALA] and picture of its combatants. On 24 September 1981 the Yeghia Keshishian suicidal commandos of ASALA seized the Turkish Embassy in Paris. Armenians throughout the world followed up the developments of the operation with great anxiety. On 24 October 1981 a great popular demonstration by 10,000 Armenians was held in Paris. On 19 November 1981 a large political meeting dedicated to the four heroes of the van operation was held in Paris by 2,000 Armenians.

ASALA, which is an organization established on a healthy and positive basis, and is supported by the Armenian people, is striking at the enemy. Furthermore, in South America, where the largest Armenian community exists, are seven branches of the popular movement of ASALA. In order to achieve the full participation of South American Armenians in the armed liberation struggle, we, the members and leaders of the popular movement of ASALA, must stop worrying about our personal problems and allocate more time to popularize the struggle. Let us carry out our serious responsibilities and tasks by united endeavors. The Armenian people will certainly emerge victorious.

# End to Disputes Urged

GF011250 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 19 May 82

[Unattributed commentary]

[Summary from poor reception] Genocide and deportation cannot be accepted. It is impossible to remain silent and not struggle. It is impossible to approve of the imperialist and expansionist policy toward our lands. Those lands must be liberated.

The Armenians in the Armenian SSR are struggling within the limits of their possibilities; so are the Armenians in Diaspora. We must end our internal disputes. The moment this is achieved we will be able to confirm the form

and direction of our struggle. There are many who are aware of the Diaspora's role in our revolutionary struggle but are attempting to put an end to it. Some say there is no need for an armed struggle. Others, particularly the conservatives, are criticizing the present armed struggle because it is striking at imperialist interests.

We are waging our struggle to retrieve our usurped lands and free the Armenian people from all types of exploiting forces. We do not aim our guns at any Armenian, only at our enemies. We will cooperate with any Armenian who wants to struggle for our usurped lands, even if he is a conservative. Whether the conservative leaders wish the establishment of cooperation among Armenian youths or not, the Armenian revolutionaries will create this cooperation.

cso: 6133/2001

#### BRIEFS

ARMENIAN PARTY CLUB ACTIVITY--The (Arakatz) Committee in Burj Hammud has decided to work strenuously to construct an additional floor over its two-story club building. In order to cover construction costs for the club's third floor, the committee has begun to sell lottery tickets in the market for 125 Lebanese pounds each. This committee is working hard to sell the tickets to the humble residents of the district. [Text] [GF190516 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 1 Apr 82]

KILLINGS IN BURJ HAMMUND--Further violence by "protectors" of Armenian origin: This violence has been committed against Armenians in Burj Hammud. At 2145 yesterday the blood of Armenian youths flowed in their own houses in front of their parents. In fact, two criminals, Hovsep and Hratch, on the pretext of a dispute over 150 Lebanese pounds, entered the Keshishian family's house near Messrobian College and shot at Simon and Hagop, two sons of the family. The 16-year-old Simon Keshishian is in serious condition while Hagop, 22, has been taken to (Karassun Manoug) hospital. After shooting the two Armenian youths, the criminals kidnapped 20-year-old Harout, the third son of the family, and took him to their gambling center. Harout is currently imprisoned in the party club. During the dispute one of the district's smart alecks, the brigand Garbis, was told that the dispute was among the Armenians. This encouraged him to shoot at the Keshishians' house. After the said crime by protectors of Armenian origin, Armenians in Burj Hammud were angry and condemned Do these criminal party members believe that struggle against the Turks means destroying an Armenian family? Do they think that by keeping the Armenians in Burj Hammud frightened they are waging a struggle against the Turks? [Text] [GF111336 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 27 Apr 82]

ANTI-TURKEY POSTER--[Text of 24 April poster prepared by the National Movement Sympathizing With the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia in India]--On 24 April 1915 the Turkish Government (?cruelly) perpetrated the massacre of the Armenians and their deportation from land on which they had lived for more than 3,000 years. Turkey is once again Europe's "sick man" today. It is maintaining its disreputable existence through huge military and economic aid from international imperialist forces. With the aid of Europe and imperialists, Turkey is continuing to keep Western Armenia occupied. The solution of the Armenian problem does not depend on the imperialist countries;

it depends on our own people's struggle. History has proved that a nation, even if it is a small one, can be (?victorious) and can arise courageously. Down with the fascist Turkish Government and international imperialism, led by the United States! Long live the struggle of oppressed peoples against imperialism! Long live the Armenian liberation struggle. [Text] [GF180415 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 6 May 82]

MURDER ATTEMPT ON ASALA MEMBER--Last night at 1930, a murder attempt was made against Mardiros, son of the (Zanji) restaurant owner, and three other persons. Unknown armed men shot at and wounded Mardiros, who is a member of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia [ASALA]; Dikran Djamgochian, an uncle of Mardiros Djamgochian who is currently imprisoned in Switzerland; (?Amin), who is Jawadallah's brother, and other person. The four wounded people are currently at Mar Yusuf Hospital and their condition is improving. [Text] [GF191334 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 8 May 82]

TURKISH CENTER CLOSURES IN JORDAN--Last Friday, 23 April and Saturday, 24 April 1982, the Turkish Cultural Center of Jordan in Jabal 'Amman, the Jordanian-Turkish Commerce Center in Wadi 'Abdun and the Turkish Embassy in Jabal 'Amman were closed. Since the closure of the Turkish centers, strict security measures have been taken and the Jordanian authorities have (?forbidden) any traffic in the areas of the Turkish centers. After inquiries were made, it was discovered that the Turkish Embassy, and the Turkish cultural and commercial centers were closed because the Turkish authorities feared Armenian attacks. The guards at the Turkish Embassy and the remaining Turkish centers, the Turkey/ secret agency, and the Jordanian security forces have discovered posters of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia [ASALA] posted on the doors of the Turkish centers. However, Turkish officials state that the Turkish Commercial Center was closed because of rats, and the embassy and cultural center were closed for vacation. It is also worth mentioning that 9 months ago, explosives were discovered within the premises of the Turkish Embassy in Amman. [Text] [GF190630 (Clandestine) Voice of Lebanese Armenians in Armenian 1330 GMT 8 May 82]

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

ALLEGED YUGOSLAV AGENTS MURDER PLOTS SUBJECT OF TRIAL

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 7 May 82 pp 33-35

["Dossier" feature by Claus Bienfait: "Belgrade's Long Reach--Murder of Yugo-slavs in the FRG: Are the Killers of Emigrants Acting on Behalf of the Government?"]

[Text] It has been suspected for many years that the Yugoslav secret service is directing assassinations of enemies of the regime on German soil. This week a trial is starting in Frankfurt which may prove this to be a fact.

As he saw the two strangers put their hands into their pockets, the owner of the apartment could smell danger. He ran into the bedroom, threw himself on the bed, tore his pistol from under the pillow, and while turning around, fired through the door's frosted glass pane. Surprised by this determined defense, the attackers fled; one of them had caught a bullet in the lung.

This is not an excerpt from a movie scenario; it was for real. The apartment dweller whose fast reaction saved his life goes by the name of Franjo Goreta and he had killed someone himself once: in August 1966 he shot Yugoslav Vice Consul Sava Milovanovic in Stuttgart's Hofbraeukeller because the latter had requested him to assassinate leading members of a Croat emigrant organization. Serving 8 years in an FRG jail was not enough punishment; after his release the former agent was put on the hit list of his former bosses. He has been a fugitive from the government's revenge ever since.

Several hundred enemies of the Yugoslav regime like Goreta are presently living in the FRG--most Croats, a few Serbians and a growing number of Albanians. They are not linked by common objectives, but only by their hate of the Belgrade government and their fear of the long arm of the Yugoslav secret service. These people have been recognized as refugees from political persecution, have asked for asylum, which was granted, and some of them have even become German citizens. But none of this constitutes a guarantee for their safety; dozens of assassinations have thinned their ranks and have destroyed the illusion of effective protection in their host country.

Anyone working against the regime in exile, distributing pamphlets, organizing demonstrations and who incites his compatriots to resistance must count on the

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worst. Such was the situation in Tito's times and it has not changed under his successors.

Not even the methods have changed; they are as awkward as ever: observation, assassination attempt, flight, and then an outraged denial as soon as the accusation is made that the responsibility lies with professional killers or paid amateurs on official business. No apparent efforts are made to provide a false alibi or a pretended motive to disguise the political background.

Emigrant activists have long since adopted James Bond-type safety precautions. They frequently change domicile, automobile and habits; as a matter of principle, they distrust all strangers and, to be on the safe side, their friends also; they carry weapons and practice using them. Adversaries of the Yugoslav regime are not suffering from paranoia—they are indeed being persecuted.

The question arises why Yugoslavia is pursuing its enemies in such a bloody manner in foreign countries as well. What is involved is the very existence of the nation. The multinational Balkan state is an artificial conglomeration, not an ethnic unit. Yugoslavia is a product of the poker game of the great powers after World War II. Ever since then, it has held together by virtue of a fading socialist ideology which has its roots in national resistance: first against Hitler, then against Stalin. The country cannot afford to put up with component nationalism; the danger of disintegration is too great for that.

About 600,000 Yugoslavs are living in the FRG. The army of guest workers, which has for many years been outside its government's control and which in addition is familiar with the advantages of a market economy, has just about the ideal configuration of a revolutionary reserve army—a catch basin for dreamers, reformers and revolutionary activists.

Nevertheless, the emigrants are not always hungering after lilywhite democratic dreams. Nor are their methods—violence, sabotage, terrorism. An independent Croatia, still mourned by one part of the antiregime group, existed only by the grace of Hitler. Its president, Ante Pavelic, whose fascist "Ustasha" (Croatian for "Uprising") murdered Yugoslavia's King Alexander I during his vacation in Marseilles, was condemned to death after the victory by the communist partisans. He fled to Italy in the garb of a priest and later on to Argentina.

Pavelic never gave up on his murderous struggle against his rival Tito. It was his followers who during the 1950's initiated an underground war against Yugoslav embassies and consulates and with bullets against diplomats; the war is still continuing.

When this terrorism finally entered Yugoslavia itself, especially after the massive explosion at Belgrade's central railroad station in the early 1960's, the regime counterattacked. Agents of the secret service Sluzbe Drzavne Bezbednosti (SDB), better known under its former name of Unutrashya Bezbednosta (Ubda), sought out undesirable compatriots, their contacts and their everyday activities. Constantly using the same methods, they attempted to recruit informers from emigrant circles. When promises of money and protection were not

sufficient, threats of revocation of passports and interference with their jobs brought wavering individuals to heel.

The struggle escalated. In the FRG and a few neighboring countries, violence against Yugoslavs dominated statistics of criminality by foreigners. To begin with, it appeared that the secret service agents were exclusively avenging attacks by Croatian extremists. But soon their actions assumed dynamics of their own: Belgrade's minions no longer needed any justification; they systematically checked off a hit list which continued to grow.

Prominent emigrants were found shot to death, beaten to death or strangled. Clues to the perpetrators were found also, but, as one Munich member of the criminal police complained on one of those occasions: "What good is that to us, when those guys can take the next flight to Yugoslavia and get a hero's welcome there?"

In those delicate cases, the Yugoslav authorities ignore requests for investigation by Interpol. And even if the whereabouts of a suspect could be determined by German sources, requests for extradition or even arraignment have always remained without result.

The main problem for the German police remains the easily accessible refuge for the perpetrators of such crimes and explains the miserably low ratio of their solutions for these crimes of violence. "A governmentally sponsored murderer," says an official of the FRG Ministry of the Interior, "only needs to bridge the time gap between the crime and the moment in which the state affords him its protection."

An assassin has the element of surprise on his side; he can plan the location and the time of the crime and, if he is particularly clever, he can sometimes even delay its discovery. The perfect assassination is committed near the airport shortly before a flight to Yugoslavia departs, or at the railroad station of a border town just prior to the departure of a train. The body of a victim is hidden or disfigured so as to make identification more difficult.

If the victim had not even been acquainted with the murderer, this deprives the criminal police additionally of the most important point of departure for its investigation.

The killer almost always has the advantage of a decisive lead time. And without his interrogation no light can be shed on the people behind the scenes. It is reasonable to assume that this is of particular importance to the presumptive employers of the killers so as to protect Yugoslavia's international reputation.

This procedure appeared to be working for many years. While the Balkan republic's secret service always appeared implicated automatically, its involvement could never be legally proven by witnesses' statements or evidence. Even in those cases where Yugoslav newspapers reported the violent death of an enemy of the regime, there would always be talk about the criminal milieu in which the crime had been committed or, if political motives were all too evident, about rivalry among the emigrants. In any case, it was stated, official Yugoslavia was uninvolved and all statements to the contrary were mere defamation.

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None of this has ever been credible. But now evidence to the contrary has come to light: something went wrong in two recent cases. Twice the victims were lucky and the criminals unlucky and the evidence was unequivocal.

Fateful mishaps, from the Belgrade viewpoint, occurred for the first time in the Goreta case, 2 weeks before Christmas 1980 in Saarbruecken. Not only was the husky butcher able to defend himself against the attack and to appear in court as an adjunct complainant. Since the near-fatal injury of one of the attackers had to be treated in a hospital, it was possible to arrest the other two unsuccessful assassins as well, in addition to their backup, a man named Dragan Barac. During the trial he admitted having commuted with false papers and a prepaid airline ticket between Yugoslavia and the FRG in the service of the SDB. Even more embarrassing, that he had received instructions for liquidating Goreta from a deputy minister for interior matters of the Croatian component republic. He had passed the murder contract on to two Germans whom he had met in karate training. The hit fee of 1 million dinar (at that time the equivalent of about DM 100,000) was to be split three ways).

After a trial lasting 10 days last year in the Saarbruecken criminal court, Barac and his accomplices were sentenced to jail terms of 8 to 14 years. There was nothing sensational about the length of the sentences. Attention was caused several months later by the written justification for the sentence, in which presiding judge Franz Priester vented his anger. The statement, barely couched in legal terms, went as follows: "After all, the sentences given were necessary also from the standpoint of general deterrence so as to make it perfectly clear that it is unacceptable on our national territory for foreign murder contracts to be executed and for internal problems of another country to be resolved here through murder."

However, relations between Bonn and Belgrade remained unimpaired. At the very moment where the trial in Saarbruecken's criminal court reinforced suspicion of official sanction of assassinations, FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his Yugoslav opposite number Josip Vrhovec were meeting informally on Starnberg Lake. The German minister told the Yugoslav that between the two states "not a single bilateral issue was dramatically unresolved."

Anyone willing to consider the attempted murder of Goreta as a unique case found out different by way of the Zenelay case. At the time the ministers met last July, the secret service background of the attempt upon the exiled Albanian had been long known to the police and the law. The fact that two members of the Yugoslav consulate general in Frankfurt were involved in it had been made known to the district attorney's office by the criminal police; that information had been passed on to the Ministry of Justice. But nothing happened at the political level; no protest was made to Belgrade.

Specifically, the attempted murder of Rasim Zenelay, which this week is the subject of a trial in courtroom 20 of the Frankfurt Land criminal court, would have been an excellent subject for issuing a warning in principle. The reason being that in this particular stage play the roles played by each actor are more evident than ever before.

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Because of a series of coincidences there is a good chance that for once causes and connections will be completely cleared up. Miraculously, the victim survived the murder attempt and while he will be forever hemiplegic, his mental functioning is unimpaired. The presumed criminal was caught while trying to flee back to her country. She and one of her controls confessed during pretrial detention. An independent witness reinforced the statements about the murder contract. And early publicity about the case prevented district attorneys and defense counsels from forming an alliance for the purpose of downplaying the case for political reasons.

The attempt on Zenelay's life deserves a detailed description because it points up the methods of secret service terrorism, its unscrupulous brutality as well as its poor organization. All details are taken from interrogation records and court records, or else they have been confirmed by at least two sources.

Zenelay grew up in a small village on the Yugoslav-Albanian border. In 1970 he came to Germany and was given political asylum. He joined the "League of Albanian Faith," which works for the incorporation of the Kosovo area into a democratic Albania, and soon became a leading figure in it. In contrast to the coarse Goreta, he has always pursued his political objectives in a nonviolent way and has no prior convictions.

When riots broke out in Kosovo in early 1981—the first such event after Tito's demise—Zenelay received some anonymous threatening phone calls. And while the Belgrade government accused "separatist elements in imperialist foreign countries" of fomenting antiregime demonstrations from afar, the Frankfurt police learned from an informant inside the consulate that an assassination attempt was being planned against the exiled Albanian.

The criminal police took this seriously. Zenelay was fitted out with a bulletproof vest and several officers took him for a walk in front of the consulate general in the Thueringerstrasse to make it clear that he was being given protection. Two men followed the group through the nearby zoo and were in turn shadowed by other policemen in civilian clothes.

But the comedy missed its mark. Zenelay's hunters knew too much about him not to have found out about his weakness for beautiful women. And thus he voluntarily removed his bulletproof vest on 14 May when he took darkhaired Zorica Aleksic to his apartment. The woman went to the bathroom, removed the safety from a 7.65 caliber "Ceska" pistol and started shooting immediately upon reentering the room. Zenelay, hit by five bullets, collapsed in front of the washbasin. That was the statement of the accused to the police; she has since kept her silence.

The fact that the alleged attacker had in her excitement forgotten to close the apartment door became her downfall. Zenelay was found barely alive by a neighbor and before lapsing into a coma was able to say two words to the attending physician, which sounded like "Zorica" and "Weststadt." The fact that these meager clues led to a hot trail are a credit to a clever criminal inspector who knew Zenelay and some of his friends from the comedy in front of the consulate. He investigated, drew some conclusions and reacted quickly: Flight JU 351 to Belgrade had already been called when the would-be assassin

was arrested at the passport control desk at Rhine-Main airport. In her pocket-book there were DM 2,100 which she had received from her bosses after the attack, presumably as a downpayment for the kill fee.

In her first shock, the then 24-year old Aleksic did a lot of talking. She admitted that she was to have killed the enemy of the regime Zenelay under orders and that she had agreed to do so after being intimidated by threats. A quote from the next day's police transcript: "It did not matter to me where I would go to jail. If I killed him, it would be here; if not, then in Yugoslavia."

Zorica Aleksic's statements implicated two men who are now accused along with her: Iso Dautovski, who has to date remained stubbornly silent, and Miroslav Illic who in the hope of receiving a reduced sentence decided to cooperate and who is now expected to serve as a star witness for the prosecution. Both of them were working for Rade Surla, owner of a small construction firm in Frankfurt and, according to information received, the security service agent in residence. He took a hasty departure to France on the evening of the assassination attempt, was later sought on an international arrest warrant and can now once again be contacted by his wife at a Yugoslav address.

The politically most explosive part of the story results from the involvement of two officials of the consulate. Svetozar Mirjacic, who is officially in charge of dealing with customs matters, and the alleged janitor Salih Salihi came under suspicion as being the controls and true initiators of the assassination attempt. They were incriminated not only by the accused Illic but also by several pieces of evidence.

Additionally, a young guest worker is slated to appear as a witness, to repeat what he has already stated last December before the TV cameras: that two men from the consulate general had wanted to hire him to commit Zenelay's murder, offering him lots of cash, a fast car and a lovely apartment. "Only when the police later showed me some pictures did I find out that one of the men was Mirjacic and the other Salihi."

In accordance with normal procedure, the police recommended "criminal trial procedures" against the officials of the consulate in its final report to the public prosecutor: "observation, arrest warrant, search." When he nevertheless failed to proceed against them, Public Prosecutor Rainer Schilling faced criticism which he tried to fend off with the weak statement that "no sufficient evidence" was in existence. He denied that there was any truth to the assumption that he had restrained himself by direction from above. However, he admitted, "this is hot stuff, no doubt about it."

Before the public prosecutor could change his mind, consulate officials Mirjacic and Salihi managed to evade German justice; one shortly after the attempt on Zenelay, the other however not until a few months later. Their superior, the consul general, declined prior to his "routine" transfer last December to take any position in the Zenelay case and merely declared that he had nothing to do with "terrorist activities of fascist organizations." The Yugoslav government lodged an official complaint with the Foreign Ministry about the request by the Second German Television Program (ZDF) for an interview.

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Zorica Aleksic is no longer talkative either. During the 8 days of the first two trials which were declared mistrials due to procedural reasons in January and March, she would not talk. Her attorneys unsuccessfully attempted with all legal tricks at their command to prevent the reading of her initial confession. The accused makes no secret of her fear for her own life, probably for good reason. The same informant who earlier had sounded the alert for the attempt on Zenelay's life, recently warned the authorities about a circus-type plan by the Yugoslav secret service to shut up Mrs Aleksic in the courtroom forever: by way of a knifethrower among the audience.

The judge thereupon ordered a further tightening of security measures which had been quite stringent even before: personal protection for the accused and adjunct complainant Zenelay, who must every time be brought from home in a wheelchair. The trial is taking place in the so-called state security courtroom, where the audience is seated behind bulletproof glass after having undergone body searches.

Should the testimony result in symbolically placing the Yugoslav government among the accused, this will become a subject of conversation during the periodic German-Yugoslav consultations which take place between Belgrade's Directorate General for Public Safety and the FRG Criminal Police Bureau [Bundeskriminalamt, BKA] in Wiesbaden. One of the German participants describes the proceedings: "We certainly confront them with the murder incidents, but not even a judgment like that in the Goreta trial can move them to assume responsibility. We are fully aware of the fact that the managers of the event are facing us, and they know that we know. But all it amounts to is a cardgame with hidden cards."

Every reproach is being met with a counterreproach, no matter how farfetched: legalistic manipulation or the initiation of defamatory press campaigns. An additional difficulty is the fact that the most important concepts are subject to different interpretations. In a totalitarian state even the writing of pamphlets or organizing a demonstration constitute active terrorism; in a Western democracy they are commonly accepted civil rights. The Yugoslav police officials frequently demand acknowledgement from their German colleagues for infractions which are not even covered by a paragraph in the FRG's criminal code.

Thus there is a vague borderline between Yugoslavia's justifiable interest in thwarting punishable offenses on its own soil and its continuing intention of preparing actions against critics of the regime on the basis of information obtained in Germany. BKA Director Dieter Walther finds himself on the horns of a dilemma. "It certainly is our duty," he emphasizes, "to inform the other side when we have knowledge of planned attacks in Yugoslavia," especially in those cases when not all weapons or explosives have been seized. On the other hand, he shies away from providing names: "We don't want to contribute to finding another body lying in the street."

The working climate in the joint commission leaves a lot to be desired anyway, since arguments broke out in the summer of 1978 concerning the subject of extradition. Yugoslavia had set free four members of the Red Army Faction (RAF) after German courts had prohibited the requested exchange for eight exiled

Croats. Bonn considered the package deal as blackmail; Belgrade was outraged over two different standards being applied to judging terrorist activities. Until today the Yugoslav authorities have even refused to furnish any information as to the destination and the nature of identity papers used by Brigitte Mohnhaupt and her three male companions when they left Yugoslavia at that time. On the other hand, extradition is no longer necessary for one of the eight enemies of the regime: Nikola Milicevic died in Frankfurt in a hail of bullets.

When German-born Ilse Bilandzic arrived in Zagreb early this year, she was arrested and accused of spying. She is the upright sister-in-law of Croat leader Stjepan Bilandzic, Yugoslavia's public enemy number 1, whose extradition the FRG government had refused for formal reasons. It is not too farfetched to suspect a connection with the recently initiated Zenelay trial, because an interesting precedent exists for "rescuing" an SDB agent prior to his sentencing in the FRG. Even before arraignment, Michailo Ilya Svilar, who had been involved in 1977 in the planning of a prior attempt at killing Franjo Goreta, was deported after 6 months in detention pending trial. The Yugoslavs had used Eberhard de Haan, an expert adviser for foreigners' welfare in the Federal Association for Workers' Welfare, as a bargaining chip. He was arrested during a meeting in Belgrade and was not sent home until blackmail had succeeded for release of the secret service agent.

Ilse Bilandzic was probably spared from a similar fate only because her case was reported early on; a few weeks ago she was released unconditionally. Frankfurt attorney Helmut Rosebrock, who specializes in representing Yugoslav emigrants and who knows his way around in the political underground, recommends public exposure as being the best means of counteracting secret service activities. "No state will acknowledge its killers. A detailed newspaper story or a TV broadcast therefore provides as much protection as do 100 policemen," he says. "And the chancellor could calm things down with a single sharp word—it would save human lives."

The fact that the politicians are nevertheless lying low cannot be explained simply with Yugoslavia's delicate location at the edge of the East bloc. Greater impact may derive from the fear that German citizens or property could be harmed if German authorities were to proceed strictly by the letter of the law.

This constitutes the only sensible explanation for a confidential agreement between FRG Minister of the Interior Gerhard Baum and Yugoslav Minister of the Interior Franjo Herljevic, according to which the Yugoslav secret service drastically reduces its activities in the FRG in return for the German authorities' curbing the liberty of the exile groups. An indication of the fact that the Germans have complied with their promises is the prohibition of several organizations and the restrictions imposed upon the leading activists, starting with Croat leader Bilandzic who is not permitted to leave his apartment in Cologne without making a report, let alone engage in any political activity.

Even trifles are being investigated, among them a pamphlet which accuses the German police of giving aid to SDB agents. It was written by former student

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leader Damir Petric, whose name was one of the eight on Belgrade's wish list. What is more remarkable than the fact that a higher court sentenced him to a fine of DM 400 for defamation, is what happened beforehand. The Bochum public prosecutor's office did not intend to prosecute but wanted to dismiss the case as being insignificant. The reason: the passages in question "were within the limits of constitutionally guaranteed freedom of expression."

But then-BKA President Horst Herald would have none of this decision. Under his office's letterhead he made it known that "the intended dismissal is firmly disapproved," and added a clear legal criticism: "It is unacceptable for the police or individual officials to be accused of terrorist measures and that a public prosecutor considers this as being nothing more than a critical disagreement." This intervention appeared to show results: Petric went on trial.

The Yugoslav emigrants do not get much sympathy from the Germans. They cannot always choose their friends. Their need for practical solidarity might constitute a slight base for cooperation with leftwingers on the FRG. The police and the Office for the Protection of the Constitution have recently learned that antiregime pamphlets written by exiles have lately been printed on the presses of the German Communist Party (KPD) which, since its breach with the People's Republic of China, has developed ideological ties with Albania. The three victims of the murder incident at Untergrappenbach had been interviewed by members of the KPD newspaper's editorial staff shortly before their deaths in the middle of January.

Orders From Belgrade: "Cleanup of the Terrain"

A more than 10-year old secret paper reinforces the suspicion that Yugoslav agents are instructed by the state to proceed against enemies of the regime in foreign countries, and that in doing so they can count on support from embassy and consular officials. In addition, it hinted at the fact that the Yugoslav government was speculating on receiving FRG cooperation in curbing exile organizations. The letter originated in the Foreign Ministry in Belgrade, was addressed to the Yugoslav military mission in West Berlin, was dated 28 August 1970 and was classified "strictly confidential." It was signed by then department head R. Nedeljkovic.

Excerpts from the translated text:

"With reference to Instruction No 3827 of 7 May 1970, the following instructions are given at the request of the state secretary and in connection with the recommendation of the cabinet of the president of the republic and the Federal Executive Council:

Embassies and other auxiliary offices of the Socialist People's Republic of Yugoslavia are advised to take supplementary measures designed to enhance control over Yugoslav citizens and hostile emigrant organizations. This refers particularly to the so-called Croat National Committee with offices in Munich and West Berlin...As a result of cooperation with a foreign power, this organization has lately been successful...in making a certain amount of headway (in foreign countries, Ed.). The above named organization has also contacted some groups of the class enemy in this country.

It is therefore the duty of Yugoslav representative offices to investigate tendencies for political reorientation among emigrants and to attempt to encourage those elements which resist giving support to Stalinist forces in the USSR. For its own part, the state security service will initiate certain technical measures and will publicize the requisite disinformation along with them.

To implement the above mentioned measures, close cooperation with appropriate authorities in the host country, with the various organizations and informants is recommended....A particularly good working climate has been created in the FRG, with whose authorities we have agreed on the closest collaboration for the purpose of liquidating emigrant organizations. The government in Bonn, and particularly representatives of the Social Democratic Party, have promised to undertake additional concrete measures to make the functioning of the so-called Croat National Committee impossible.

Labor union representatives have for their part promised to conduct a "cleanup of the terrain" in West Berlin....

In connection with the above subject matter, the representative offices are advised not to permit input from organs of individual republics. Such attempts have been made by some organs of the Socialist Republic of Croatia in dealing with the military mission in West Berlin and the consulate in Stuttgart...."

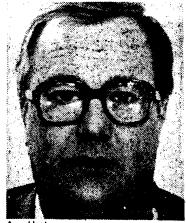
The Underground War: 40 Dead Since 1967

In reply to an inquiry by the opposition, the FRG Government recently stated that during the past 12 years a total of 14 Yugoslav emigrants had died a violent death in Germany. A BKA spokesman gave a ballpark figure of 40 for the number of victims of obviously politically motivated killings since the start of the bloody battles between the Yugoslav secret service and self-declared enemies of the regime during the mid-1960's. Added to this number are about one dozen people who incurred severe injuries in surviving murder attempts.

- 13 September 1968: Croat restaurant owner Mirijan Simundic was killed in his car by eight bullets at the periphery of Stuttgart. He was an important witness for the defense in the first Goreta trial.
- 30 September 1968: The body of Hrvoje Ursa was pulled from the Fulda River in Hutzdorf, Hesse. Three days earlier, the Croat had been abducted in handcuffs from his Frankfurt apartment.
- 26 October 1968: During an attack on the office of the underground organization "Federation of United Croats" (UHNJ), in Munich, Mile Rukavina, Kresimir Toj and Vid Maricic were killed with handguns.
- 9 April 1969: Croat restaurant owner Mirko Curic was blown up by a bomb hidden in a plastic envelope in front of his establishment.
- 17 April 1969: Radko Obradovic, editor of the emigrant newspaper ISKRA: was killed on a Munich street.
- 28 June 1969: Nahid Kulenovic, editor of another Croat newspaper, was found beaten to death in the bathtub of his Munich apartment.

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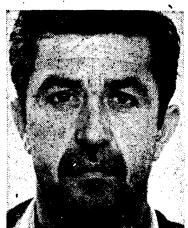
- 7 January 1971: The Croat Mirko Simic died in West Berlin under mysterious circumstances.
- 9 March 1972: Josip Senic, leader of the "Croat Revolutionary Brotherhood," was killed in his sleep by two pistol shots in a hotel room in Wiesbach near Heidelberg.
- 14 September 1973: The Croat Josip Buljan-Miholic was shot to death in Korn-westheim.
- 8 July 1974: Serbian editor Jakov Ljotic, successor of Obradovic, who had himself been murdered 5 years earlier, was strangled with his own necktie in his apartment in Munich.
- 5 March 1975: The body of Mato Jozak, a Croat having Australian citizenship, was washed ashore on the bank of the Rhine near Cologne-Worringen. His death had occurred 3 months earlier in Neuss.
- 6 June 1975: Ilija Vucic, who had participated in the 1962 occupation of the Yugoslav mission in Bonn-Mehlem, was shot three times as he was leaving his apartment in Stuttgart. He died of his injuries 5 days later.
- 19 April 1979: The body of Croat Jozo Milos, shot twice, was found in a wooded area of the Kerpen-Sindorf precinct near the Cologne-Aachen autobahn.
- 15 September 1979: The Seribian Salih Mesinovic was shot dead during an altercation in a Frankfurt restaurant.
- 13 January 1980: Nikola Milicevic, one of the leaders of the "Federation of United Croatians," was killed in his car by three shots on the bank of the Main in Frankfurt.
- 16 April 1980: Dusan Sedlar, chairman of the "Serbian National Federation," was shot dead on a busy street in Duesseldorf.
- 9 October 1981: Antun Kostic, formerly active in the "National Croatian Committee," died in Munich as a result of being shot.
- 17 January 1982: Kosovo Albanians Bardhosh and Jusuf Gervalla and Kadri Zeka were fired at in their car with machine pistols as they were leaving a garage in Untergruppenbach near Heilbronn. One of them survived a short time and was able to identify Yugoslav agents as the killers.



Angeklagt: Miroslav Ilic

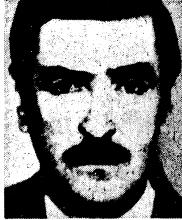


Geständnis in der Untersuchungshaft, dann Schweigen: Zorica Aleksic



Angeklagt: iso Dautovski

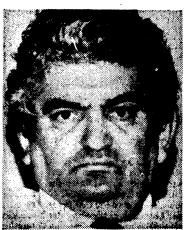
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Abgereist: Konsulatsbeamter Svetozar Mirjacic



Verdächtigt: Konsulatsangehöriger Salih Salihi



Gesucht: Mutmaßlicher Geheimdienst-Resident Rade Surla

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[Photo Captions]

Top left--Accused: Miroslav Ilic

Top right--Confession under detention, then silence: Zorica Aleksic

Center left--Accused: Iso Dautovski

Center right--Departed: Consular official Svetozar Mirjacic

Bottom left--Under suspicion: Consular member Salih Salihi

Bottom right--Sought: Presumed Secret Service resident Rade Surla

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SPAIN

# COMMUNIQUES OF ETA TO BASQUE PEOPLE

ZUZEN in Spanish 1981 pp 1-10

[Text] ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty] Communique to the Basque People

ETA, the Basque Revolutionary Socialist Organization of National Liberation, is claiming responsibility for the bomb attack on 7 May in Madrid on the armored vehicle of Lt Gen Joaquin Valenzuela, commander of the King's Military Squad, and his escort, an attack that left the commander gravely wounded and a lieutenant colonel, a noncommissioned officer and the escort driver dead.

On 19 April and 1 May the Basque working people have once again commemorated two historic dates that symbolize the long and trying road of our oppressed and exploited people towards their total national and social liberation. But on this occasion, as on so many others under the Franco dictatorship, we have once again seen in the southern Basque Country the element that is common to both periods of our struggle of grassroots resistance: repression.

A brutal and savage repression on the day of Aberri Eguna, with Guernica under siege and occupied militarily by the police, which prevented any sort of peaceful demonstration, clearly reminiscent of that 26 April 1937 when the Nazis and Francoists bombed the town and reduced it to ashes.

An arbitrary and indiscriminate repression of the worker demonstrations staged on 1 May in the four historic Basque regions, with dozens wounded and detained.

These were, in a word, two days of united struggle marked by the common denominator of repression and symbolizing the two aspects (national and class) of the historic confrontation between the Basque working people and the oligarchic Spanish State.

But the police massacres on Aberri Aguna and 1 May are mere reflections of an everyday reality suffered by the most combative and consistent segments of our people. The fact is that hundreds have been detained, more and more people have been jailed, tortured at police stations

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and coerced and threatened both physically and psychologically. The fact is that although this repression has been a constant, anguishing and humiliating fact throughout the past few years, it has grown more intense and expanded in the wake of the farcical military coup on 23 February. We are now seeing the upshot that we warned about when we analyzed the controlled maneuver of the "takeover of the Congress of deputies" in Madrid. The Spanish Armed Forces, whose generals are the only ones in Europe who have not yet lost a war, decided to directly take the reins of government for the basic purpose of eliminating through repressive and constitutional means the ETA and the National Liberation Movement waging our armed struggle. We can thus understand the subsequent police measures ordered by the Council of Ministers and now in force, the transfer of additional Civil Guard and Armed Police troops to the southern Basque Country and stationing special and regular Army and Navy units on Basque territory.

But ETA has not let itself be tricked by the farce on 23 February, nor is it prepared to give ground in light of its consequences, no matter how disagreeable they might be. Our duty is to the Basque working people, to serve their interests and to attain the political objective of the democratic break and self-government. This is why ETA has struck a blow in Madrid against one of the highest raking military officers attached to the crown, in a move that reaffirms our determination to keep struggling and to do whatever we can to support the Basque people in their aspirations of democracy, sovereignty and freedom and to force the Spanish regime to put reason ahead of force and to accept the "ceasefire" that we offered in the KAS [Patriotic Socialist Coordination] tactical alternative.

Gora Euskadi Askatuta! Gora Euskadi Soziolista! Basque Country, 9 May 1981

ETA Communique to the Basque People

ETA, the Basque Revolutionary Socialist Organization of National Liberation, claims responsibility for the bomb attack on 14 May in Lemona on a Civil Guard military convoy in which one of its vehicles was destroyed, two of its occupants slain and a third seriously wounded.

The ferocious and arbitrary upsurge in repression by the Spanish Government against the Basque Liberation Movement is eloquent proof of the clearly centralist and fascist nature of the monarchical regime's current policy. This is obviously an all-out offensive ordered by the military brass that has had political control over the Spanish State for the last 45 years and that has taken advantage of the military farce on 23 February to order emergency measures of intimidation and repression against the Basque working people and their legitimate aspirations for democracy and freedom.

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The people's response to this intensified escalation of aggression must take two forms: resistance and organization.

Resistance, to continue showing the Spanish State that the Basque people are proceeding with their struggle for their rights and freedoms and that neither reformism nor repression will succeed in swaying us one bit in our search for what is rightly ours.

Organization, to coherently and effectively lay the groundwork for action to resist the attempts at reformist integration and reaccionary annihilation unleashed against the Basque National Liberation Movement, thus making possible the continuation of the civil and armed resistance that will result in the definitive democratic break set forth in the KAS tactical alternative.

In this connection, ETA reaffirms its pledge to stand firm and alert in the grassroots battle, supporting the people's grievances and sharpening as much as possible the contradictions within the enemy camp until they realize that our people will not surrender and until they accept the honorable alternative of the armistice that we have publicly offered them.

Gora Euskadi Askatuta! Gora Euskadi Sozialista! Basque Country, 16 May 1981 ETA

ETA Communique to the Basque People

ETA, the Basque Revolutionary Socialist Organization of National Liberation, claims responsibility for blowing up a transformer and a water hoist in an estate owned by the heirs of the Duchess of Albuquerque on 16 May in Cadreita.

The intransigent stand by the heirs of the Duchess of Albuquerque (the Osotio, Diez de Rivera family), with overtones of feudal rule at this point in the 20th century, once again highlights the bossist, antipeople and fascist approach that it has taken throughout the "land sale" dispute.

Stands like this are all too well-known throughout the Ribera zone, where "bigwigs" and "families of great renown" amassed their dominions and fortunes under Franco and are now hiding their centralist-Spanish faces by calling themselves "Navarrists" in a bid to continue lining their pockets.

Everyone knows that the conditions proposed by most of the sharecroppers and tenants, backed by the people's assembly of Cadreita, are just and reasonable:

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--Collective bargaining for the purchase of lands.

--Compensation per "robada" [8.98 ares], in consideration of both the continuous outlays that they have had to make to improve access roads to the fields, irrigation systems, etc, and the natural right they acquire by working the land.

These proposals would spoil the fat profits that these heirs expect to make if they can hammer out a separate sales agreement with each farmer and thus impose the high price that they want through blackmail and intimidation after dividing the people.

We should emphasize the ambiguity and indecisiveness that the Foral Parliament has so proudly displayed, a parliament that had been chosen to mediate these disputes at the behest of the Delegation, that was accepted by most of the Cadreita locals and that has now given in after the dukedom's refusal. The saying "big dogs never bite each other" would aptly describe the thumb-twiddling that the Right has and is stubbornly engaged in in these institutions, with the servile backing of the PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party].

It is under these conditions of total and absolute disdain of the Cadreita workers' interests by the ducal family, that ETA stepped in with the revolutionary armed struggle to support the people's just aspirations. It seems that the other warnings to all those who are indirectly (UCD [Democratic Center Union], UPN, "moles," etc) or directly helping to keep the people of Cadreita under the heel of the feudal lord, have not been taken seriously. We are therefore asserting that to the extent that we can we will continue to attack both the economic and the personal interests of the ducal family, and we might even undertake action that could cause irreparable damage to their physical integrity, in support of the demands for the just ownership and control of the land that the people are working, in keeping with the aspirations of development and social improvements that we all want as the Basque working people.

Gora Euskadi Askatuta! Gora Euskadi Sozialista! Basque Country, 16 May 1981

ETA Communique to the Basque People

ETA, the Basque Revolutionary Socialist Organization of National Liberation, claims responsibility for the the bomb attack on 5 June in Donostia on a six-vehicle convoy of the Armed Police, during which one of the vehicles was destroyed, one corporal killed and four agents wounded to various degrees. The convoy belonged to the General Reserve Companies based on Coruna and which have been transferred to the southern Basque Country for the particular purpose of taking part in operations of punishment and reprisal against the grassroots mobilization struggle.

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At the time of our attack, the convoy was returning to its barracks in Loiola after having brutally put down a grassroots demonstration in Donostia calling for the release of Tomas Linaza and against the extradition of political refugees in the northern Basque Country.

The repression in the southern Basque Country has become extremely severe in the wake of the 23 February coup attempt. Everyone is being repressed and for every reason, everyone who represents and defends a political option to attain the people's true aspirations of democracy and freedom. The antinuclear movement in its struggle against Lemoniz is being repressed. The citizen movement with its basic urban and grassroots grievances is being repressed. The women advocating amnesty in their consistent eagerness to serve the cause of the imprisoned and exiled are being repressed. The feminist movement in its struggle against the three-pronged oppression that women suffer is being repressed. The Herri Batasuna coalition in its alternative of democratic break and Basque self-government is being repressed. In a word, every kind of working class and grassroots mobilization backing the struggle of the Basque working people to see their most immediate demands met is being repressed.

The Spanish occupation forces have received orders from Madrid to divide the southern Basque Country into squares and in each square to draw up organizational charts showing the individuals and groups that belong to the civil and armed resistance movement. This is the reason for the countless detentions and the chilling use of torture to obtain information.

Concurrently, they must repress in our streets any sign of the breadth and strength of the political option advocated by the consistent patriotic Left. This is the reason for the intolerance and brutality with which they proudly put down any form of public expression or demonstration by these groups backing the break.

Therefore, ETA sees the armed struggle as more necessary than ever to offset the campaign of repression unleashed by the Spanish Government and its military leadership against the Basque people.

Our national and class enemies are being forced to wage an open war against the Basque National Liberation Movement, which is conclusive proof of their inability to settle the conflict through political reform. This is tantamount to saying that history will again prove us right about the true underlying nature of the so-called "Spanish democracy."

Moreover, this tactical move chosen by the Spanish State does not at all represent a definitive solution to the problem and could in the relatively short run turn out to be very dangerous to its own overall interests. In any event, the important thing at the moment, from the standpoint of the grassroots struggle, is to realize, above all, that the situation has entered an irreversible phase in which the fascist measures of repression will undoubtedly create periods of flux in the mobilization but in which the political measures set forth in the KAS tactical alternative will truly be able to settle the conflict underlying the current violent confrontations.

This is the framework of analysis that should guide the Basque people in bolstering their confidence of our inevitable victory. At the same time, it should make the political parties shirking their duty stop and think about their anachronistic course of conduct and the culpability that they are incurring by action and omission.

Gora Euskadi Askatuta! Gora Euskadi Sozialista! Basque Country, 7 June 1981

ETA Communique to the Basque People

ETA, the Basque Revolutionary Socialist Organization of National Liberation, in its campaign of intimidation against Iberduero S.A., the company building the Lemoniz Nuclear Powerplant, claims responsibility for the following armed actions:

19 April 1981: Blowing up of the Mundaiz substation in Donostia 22 April 1981: Blowing up of a substation in Eibar 24 April 1981: Blowing up of a transformer in Ayete-Donostia 26 April 1981: Blowing up of the Intxaurrondo-Donostia substation 27 April 1981: Blowing up of a substation in Donostia 29 April 1981: Blowing up of the Berriz substation 2 May 1981: Blowing up of two power transmission towers for the Santurzi Thermal Powerplant 3 May 1981: Blowing up of two transmission towers in Calahorra (Logrono) 8 May 1981: Blowing up of a transformer in Bergara 8 May 1981: Blowing up of the Oiartzun substation 15 May 1981: Blowing up of a transmission tower in Legazpia 26 May 1981: Blowing up of a FENSA substation in Orcoyen 28 May 1981: Blowing up of a substation in Lemona 31 May 1981: Blowing up of a transformer in Bergara 4 June 1981: Blowing up of three transmission towers in Orcoyen 7 June 1981: Blowing up of a FENSA transmission tower in Iruina

With each passing day we see the increasingly obvious need to renew our efforts to frustrate the plans of Iberduero S.A. and the Spanish Government to put the Lemoniz Nuclear Powerplant into operation, for the simple reason that the fait accompli maneuver that the two want to pull on the Basque people is all too clear. The ideal thing in their undemocratic and antipeople logic would be to complete the construction as soon as possible, secretly bring in the enriched uranium and surprise us all with the then inevitable startup of the plant.

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Nevertheless, the grassroots mobilization struggle waged through the appropriate committees and organizations, combined with the consistent armed intervention of ETA, have caused these plans to fail resoundingly and the foul machinations behind them to come to public light. The wall of silence and secrecy has been broken, and the grassroots struggle has won the important battle to raise the awareness of the Basque people in general about the contradictions and dire consequences of the nuclear powerplant.

But this by itself is not enough. The war continues, and Iberduero S.A. and the Spanish Government are still determined, in spite of the tragedies that the Lemoniz conflict has led to, to move forward with the project, using every institutional, police and military recourse they have.

The new image that the new president of Iberduero S.A. has tried to project in connection with this matter has been a crude, farcical lie. The goal that Mr Gomez de Pablos is pursuing is the same as Mr Areitio's, the only difference being the subtle or direct language that one or the other has used to try and impose his decisions.

We are warning once again that the Basque Country must remain on the alert against the illegal and high-handed imposition of the nuclear monster in Lemoniz. Many of the apparently "democratic" options that have been emerging for a decision by the people are merely delaying or manipulative approaches in support of the nuclear plant project, in a bid to gain time to secretly bring in the enriched uranium or to confuse the people, most of whom are against the plant.

For our part, we will continue to wage the armed campaign against the holdings of Iberduero S.A. The intensification of this campaign and the widening of its range of targets will depend directly on the stand that the company takes regarding Lemoniz from this point on.

Gora Euskadi Askatuta! Gora Euskadi Sozialista! Basque Country, 8 June 1981 ETA

Fermin Ancizar Tellechea, a 28-year old bachelor who is originally from Legasa (Navarre) and who now lives at 16-4 right Recoletos Street in Pamplona (Navarre), wishes to state the following about his detention:

I was detained on 10 May 1981 at around midnight by the San Sebastian Civil Guard in Eibar (Guipuzcoa) at No 10-4 left B Street in the Amana District. A woman tenant answered the door, and some 30 Civil Guards and plainclothesmen came in and proceeded to ask for our identification. They grabbed Comrade Angel Rekalde out of a room and took him into the hallway, while I was brutally kicked and beaten all over with guns and objects that were in the apartment.

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Then a shot rang out in the hallway, and we heard them comment among themselves that he would be dead in 5 hours. A policeman then told me that he was going to kill me. Another one told him not to so that they could question me, because killing the other guy was enough. I must state that we never offered resistance and were not carrying any weapons, which were in an adjacent room. So they fired at Comrade Angel Rekalde at point-blank range.

I was then transferred to the Campazar intersection (Guipuzcoa) because, they told me, our "hole in the ground" (zulo) was there. I was tortured over For example, I was beaten all over my body. They put a plastic bag over my head so that I had trouble breathing and lost consciousness, and they beat my head against a tree until I fell to the ground. Once I told them exactly where our "zulo" was, they called in reinforcements; the Civil Guard arrived, and they began beating me again with their weapons ("cetme," sawed-off rifles [subfusil], pistols and "lanzapelotas"). They then took me to where I told them the "zulo" was. About 200 meters away there was a newly built chalet, which they said had to be destroyed. All of the Civil Guards (about 300 of them) then began firing helter-skelter into the house. The officer in command then ordered a tank to break down the front door and two hand grenades tossed inside, which completely destroyed the chalet. We then moved on to the "zulo," which was some 200 meters away. I have to say that the chalet had nothing to do with the "zulo" and that it was destroyed because the officer in command just felt like it.

Once the "zulo" was uncovered, they took me to the Elgoibar Barracks in Guipuzcoa. They threatened to kill me and my comrade on the way, reminding me about the three dead people in Almeria and that if they did the same to me, nothing would happen. We got to the barracks, and right there they began torturing me in indescribable ways. For example, they laid me flat on a table with half my body hanging over it and began beating me all over until I lost consciousness several times and started bleeding from the head and ears. I never received any medical care.

I was then taken to the Civil Guard Headquarters in San Sebastian (Guipuzcoa). Here I was again tortured. I was beaten on the head with an iron-tipped club until I was all swollen and lost any sense of where I was or what time it was. I was also beaten all over the body.

When I was taken down to the dungeon, the guards forced me to kneel while they stepped on me, beat me and even started pulling my hair out.

Two or 3 days later, two inspectors arrived from the Civil Guard Head-quarters in Pamplona (Navarre) to interrogate me too. They tortured me the same way as their compansions. They also grabbed me by the ears, threw me against the wall and then the door and threatened to kill me when I was released.

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After being detained for 10 days, I was taken, with a hood on, to a courtroom to make a statement before a trial judge. On the way, I was beaten and threatened. After I made my statement, I was put in a room against a wall and beaten and kicked hard. They told me that I better not get put in jail that same day because I would get transferred back to the Civil Guard Headquarters, where they were going to beat me to death and rip my guts out.

In light of all the above, I would like to state that the individuals arrested after I was detained are completely innocent, inasmuch as I was pressured and tortured into signing, and that the charges against me are totally false because they have been unable to prove them.

Madrid, 25 May 1981

8743

CSO: 6000/0005

SPAIN

# ETA-M LEADERSHIP, ORGANIZATION OUTLINED

ETA Tries To Reorganize

Madrid ABC in Spanish 24 Jan 82 pp 6-9

[Article by A. Semprun Guillen]

[Text] Several residents of Deva considered to be supporters of the Spanish Government, the councillor delegate of the Discount Bank, a member of the UCD [Democratic Center Union] and his followers, a Vitoria industrialist who had refused to pay "revolutionary extortion," the owner of a Vitoria bar frequented by the National Police, a member of the Navarra Foral Alliance, an aristocrat with large holdings in Tudela, a director of Navieras Letasa, the chief of the Baracaido Municipal Police and a retired civil guard from the San Ignacio de Loyola district of Bilbao were some of the persons targeted by ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty Group] in 1981. Intervention by the police prevented the attacks from being carried out.

The ETA terrorist organization, particularly its military branch, has for the first time in its history lost the initiative in the dirty "war" it is encouraging. "They are going crazy. They are disoriented, and all they do is meet, argue and patch up the openings made by police action. In addition, they are feeling the effects of the weariness of the Basque people, who are already fed up with violence, demagoguery and bloodshed," said an observer who is very close to ETA circles.

In the past year, the Executive Committee of the military arm of the ETA has had to deal with the defection of 51 of its commandos--37 of them in "intelligence"--and the arrest of 600 members, activists and collaborators. Its intelligence infrastructure has been the most damaged, in some respects irreparably, by the combined action of the security forces. The "battle for information," a key part of the antiterrorist struggle, is being won by the state.

New Basque Attitude

ETA no longer has the same support in the streets that it had a few years ago. In years past its actions were supported by planned street disorder, which ensured "continuity." That is, an ETA attack was followed, within a more or

less short time, by a "popular" demonstration in the form of a pro-amnesty march, municipal memorials "glorifying" the dead militants or protest gatherings against some specific police action. Now the organizers of these demonstrations are unable to mobilize anything more than scattered groups.

The "organization" also suffers from lack of clarity in its goals. It used to use terrorism to pressure the government and achieve its objectives through parallel political action. This is what has been called "the use of negotiations to advance the process."

Its only form of pressure was the reaction caused by its attacks on the armed and security forces, with which it created fear within the government. But after 23 February the ETA was accused by the people themselves of "provoking the coup." The Executive Committee—its head untouched for the moment—knows that a "high level" attack creates tensions which are unpopular in the long run and that, unfortunately, murdering a civil guard or a policeman does not arouse the same "fear" in the government. They find themselves, then, without any goals: increasing the level of attacks would make them unpopular; not doing so would render them harmless.

The ETA military arm is realizing that it is carrying on terrorism with no hope for success, no prospects for the future. Chaos out of chaos. Its great expectation of "military intervention" in the Basque Country is unlikely, and it knows that at present it does not have sufficient means to provoke such intervention.

#### Problems of ETA

On the "practical" side, ETA's military arm has many other problems. Its economic situation is not all that good and it is being forced to restructure its entire organization "in the interior."

The "fall of Madariaga" in Madrid, with the resulting defection of the entire intelligence structure in the capital city was the spark for the police offensive to intensify in the last 4 months of the year. Thanks to that offensive, Spain did not dress in mourning on 18 November 1981. Thwarted on that date was a "savage commando operation" composed of Ignacio Apilanez Olalde, Antonio Garica del Molino, Salvador Ereizaga Arozamena, Maria Adoracion Lecuona Oyarzabal, Jose Miguel Larranaga Mandiri, Mifuel /sic/ Francisco Solaun Angulo, Rafael Bonilla Gutierrez and Angel Gomez Uria, who were going to blow up the Civil Guard Barracks in Algorta (Vizcaya) on the day of its dedication. The attack would have cost the lives of the interior minister himself, the high-ranking officers of the police and the Civil Guard and many wives and children of guard personnel. Manuel Ballesteros and the entire Operations Brigade are convinced that a possible coup d'etat was averted that day. The Civil Guard, they believe, would not have been able to take such a tragedy in stride.

Action by the security forces is at the same time causing an "exodus" of members and sympathizers to the south of France. The ETA is forced to "find a place" for these people and is trying to place them in small businesses in

Venezuela, Mexico and Colombia. Some of them can be reactivated in the future so that they may take part in "commando operations" as "free agents." The majority cannot.

At this time they are changing their system of organization. They have found, particularly, that their structure is vulnerable, and they are making it impenetrable. The ETA military arm's technique of "compartmentalization" has always been one of its best tricks. Normally the commandos maintain contact with the "head" without intermediaries, through the postal service or special travel. There is no so-called "area chief", as in ETA-pm; this way they avoid the risk of a "general collapse" of the commandos should one of them be arrested.

#### **Economic Sources**

It has several economic sources, although the one we call "revolutionary extortion" is the basic one. Lately, because of the ETA's loss of prestige this year, many industrialists have refused to pay. The Lipperheide kidnapping is a serious warning to the rest. The police believe that the ETA military arm has a hand in several businesses in the south of France, from the profits of which it rounds cut its funds. For the moment, lack of cooperation on the part of French Government officials prevents anyone from getting to the bottom of this matter.

Relations between the ETA and the French Government are complex and have undergone some slight changes. There is no doubt that since Mitterrand's arrival in power, ETA members feel they are being "watched" more closely. There is even speculation about the existence of certain agreements signed in Burdeos after a meeting between Regis Debray and the ETA Executive Committee, by which the "organization" promised to slow down its activities in "key moments" of Spanish-French relations. In addition, France's autonomy problems, with the new socialist policy toward Bretons and Corsicans, has created strong ill feeling within the Gallic police, which is translated into a hardening of its position with regard to separatist groups. The French will leave the ETA men alone as long as they keep their promise not to create difficulties in the French Basque country, and ETA knows this. It also knows how to prolong this situation. Thus, just days after Mitterrand assumed the presidency, the Araba Commando Operation, which was dissolved on 3 March 1981, had as its principal mission "to prepare an action against trains transporting vehicles of French manufacture, in case the government should take some measure against the Basque refugees in that country."

However, in spite of the problems of the "organization," it must not be forgotten that the "head," the Executive Committee, remains intact. The police have no legal means of getting to it. The security forces are aware that if they relax their pressure there will be a setback of several years. While France continues to grant asylum to its members, ETA has a safe place from which to launch its activities again. In view of this state of affairs, our security forces have only one course of action: to eliminate the infrastructure in Spain and maintain constant vigilance to prevent it from being reorganized.

### Change of Strategy

The Executive Committee is well aware of its present situation. Its "rank and file" members react with sharp criticism, and discipline is resented. The "leaders" held a meeting in August about this problem. There it was agreed to reduce the number of indiscriminate murders, replacing them with "selective" action. The reasons given were of a "political" nature, but now, given the dramatic situation, many of the members are beginning to think there was something more. Thus it is thought that the ETA can no longer maintain the pace of its actions and that it is making political excuses for its impotence. Even the murder of a policeman or a civil guard has ceased to be a simple matter. Members of the security forces have adopted more and more effective methods of protecting themselves, even in their barracks and at home.

In spite of all this, ETA goes on killing--32 murders between 1 December 1980 and 27 October 1981--and at any moment it may deal a blow with incalculable consequence. The 23 February trials and the World Cup games are not far off.

# ETA Organization, Leadership

[Article by Pilar Urbano]

[Text] The Six Brains Behind ETA-pm

Since the Arrest of ETA-pm "liberado" Juan Gregorio, who had custody of Dr Iglesias during the latter's kidnapping, the police have been able to confirm the membership of the "Executive Committee" of the ETA's political-military organization: Abrisketa Corta ("Txutxo"), Aulestia Urrutia ("Zotxa"), Atxega Aguirre ("Fiti"), Lara Fernandez ("Etxepe"), Otegui Mondragon ("Gordo") and Mugica Arregui ("Josean"). [They have also learned] that the commando group that took part is not "an ETA faction," that it was not a question of breaking the ceasefire, but rather of remedying the economic insolvency of the ETA political-military organization; that "there was no contact between the Iglesias family and the ETA organization" and that it was decided to kidnap Dr Iglesias "not for the spectacular effect of the 'coup,' but because it was an easy way to get money--1 billion pesetas--and send it to some South American country."

## Ballesteros' Confidants

ETA is alive. The entire leadership, with residential immunity in the France of Mitterrand's socialist "freedoms." But it is going blind. Its "eyes," the "intelligence commands," are being drained, dismantled and crushed persistently by the Spanish police. "We must leave ETA without eyes, without hands, without weapons..., and then, without a head. And if we do not succeed in severing its head..., at least we will fix it so they have no one to command," I was told by Commissioner Ballesteros, chief of the Unified Command for the Antiterrorist Campaign. ETA is alive. But the terrorist who watches a "marked" person from a distance, who tries to dig a hole along a highway to place a charge of explosives, who builds a "people's prison," who has to have an "organic contact" to transmit a slogan, or who is willing to take part

in a "bloody action," will feel the noose of the "chakurras," the dogs--that is what the "organization" call the Spanish police--closer, tighter and more oppressive every day.

ETA is alive and is killing, kidnapping and extorting with its "revolutionary tax"—life or death blackmail—, but its actions have a slower rhythm, fewer successes and a larger number of botched jobs.

ETA is killing less. "Four were arrested today; two the day before yesterday; they end up "singing" about a long of things: small details which are extremely important to us." Thus Marcelino Oreja was prevented from being blown to bits in his car. Or such and such a lieutenant general, a newsman, a minister and a commissioner from receiving the deadly caress of a bullet in the neck. Thus they arrived in time to prevent the Algorta barracks from being blown up: that would have involved the "total destruction" of an area 30 meters in diameter, and the deaths of the entire command of the nation's security forces. The detonation of 52 kilos of "goma-2" was satanically calculated and planned to be activated by remote control "at the time of the dedication." This human carnage, born of anger, would have destroyed democracy. Very impressive.

What has changed? The government, with Minister Roson leading the struggle, has taken over and has made the campaign against ETA murder its very own: with more dedication, men and training, more training courses within and outside Spain, more and better weapons and more money. More money--how glad we are to spend it for this!--so that the "polis" spend hours, days and weeks of hope and vigilance in this or that area. More money so that "Ballesteros' sources and confidants" will name names, warn of the arrival of some commando, quote chapter and verse on some short-term action. Every police agency in the world which has terrorism in its backyard pays for such information. It is a key instrument in the struggle. The brilliant entrance of the "geo's" into the Trasmoz house, where Dr Iglesias was being held, would not have been possible without the patient and laborious "Operation Parish," including investigation and surveillance directed by Commissioner Domingo Martorell. And "Operation Parish"--so-called to disguise the name "Iglesias"--would not have gone after the ETA-pm without the reliable information supplied by Ballesteros. "However, this time no money was paid out for the "singing" or for the infiltration," he asserts.

Are there other leads not being followed? How many? There are citizens and residents who (finally) have decided to overcome their fear and "tell what they know, what they have seen." There are French police agents "who think as we do, regardless of what their government decides politically, and they cooperate by informing." There are ETA members who on certain occasions have "turned coward," "sold out their comrades" or "failed through negligence." The police know how to turn these "errors" against them: such an ETA member finds himself between a rock and a hard place: either he "cooperates" with trustworthy information or the ETA is informed of his actions, and sooner or later he will be face up 6 feet under. Finally, some information costs millions, some thousands, of duros, while some can be had for an appreciable "gift": a passport, a paragraph suppressed in the police report, a ticket to

South America with no problems. Everything has its price. Nobody expects to launch and win a "dirty war" with spotless weapons.

But it is not so easy. The fate of the industrialist, Lipperheide, involves some risk. The ETA "milis" who have been arrested have told all they know—just their part in the episode. At this time the police are operating in an information vacuum. They believe the industrialist is being held somewhere in Gran Bilbao. The Civil Guard is "combing" the area, but as yet there are no clues. And the ETA-pm "truce?" On Thursday at 9:20 in the evening Mario Onaindia and Bandres were having a drink, along with a third man, in the bar of the Riofrio coffeehouse. Too "openly," or too "close" to the Ministry of Interior. Later on I found out that they came from there. The government does not dialogue with ETA. But ETA-pm has its political arm, Euskadiko Ezkerra [Basque Left], which does not take up arms, but supports their use; which does not murder, but deifies its own dead. And one should not be scandalized because Roson talks with Onaindia. If Onaindia can make his "advice" worthwhile, when "in private" (as polimili "liberado" Juan Gregorio, who was arrested while he was holding Dr Iglesias, said) Txutxo, Zotxa, Fiti, Etxepe, Gordo and Josean, the organization's provosts, "are discussing the ceasefire: whether to keep it or break it," everything has its price.

Now political and police action is directed at two areas where there is a possibility of a "sensational attack" or a "desperate operation": the 23 February military trials and the World Cup soccer festivities. This is the crucial moment for activating the "intelligence network." But this time the threads have to reach simultaneously to the "vital centers" of our four terrorist groups: the anarchist-libertarian group, the ultrarightists, GRAPO [First of October Armed Revolutionary Group] and ETA. "To date my best sources have not given any danger signals. Nothing serious is being planned. If it were, I would know it by now," Ballesteros told me.

## Executive Committee of the ETA Military Organization

This is a diagram of the Executive Committee of ETA-m, the highest organ of leadership in the terrorist organization. Each of its members is in charge of a specific area which he oversees with a certain amount of autonomy. The diagram was supplied by police sources.

- 1. Political Office--Eugenio Echeveste Arizguren
- 2. Propaganda Office--Juan Ramon Aramburu Garmendia (a) "Juanra"
- 3. Logistics and Support--Isidro Maria Garaide Bedia Launeta (a) "Mamarro"
- 4. Intelligence Infrastructure--Jose Luis Ansoia Larranaga (a) "Pello El Viejo"
  --Eloy Uriarte Diaz de Guereno (a) "Senor Robles"
- 5. International Relations--Jose Maria Ganchegui Arruti (a) "Pelio"
  --Carlos Ibargure Aguirre (a) "Nervios"
- 6. Military Apparatus--Domingo Iturbe Abasola (a) "Txomin"
  --Francisco Mugica Garmendia
- 7. Special Operations--Juan Lorenzo Santiago Lasa Michelena (a) "Txiquierdi"
- 8. Weapons and Explosives Training--Isidro Maria Garaide Bedia Launeta (a)
  "Mamarru"
- 9. Mugalaris--Jose Miguel Lujua Gorostioia (a) "Mikel"

Fighters For Democracy

Madrid ABC in Spanish 24 Jan 82 pp 6-9

[Article by Carlos Davila]

[Text] For barely 100,000 pesetas per month, 130 men, the pick of the Spanish police, risk their lives daily in the Basque Country. They belong to a superspecialized antiterrorist brigade in which, according to Manuel Ballesteros, "not just anyone is accepted." All are under 30 years of age, and they live their personal and collective adventure against terror and death in the north. They are the men that the Unified Command has sent to Vizcaya, Guipuzcoa, Alava and Navarra to destroy the ETA, an objective in which these men, who can never sleep in hotels, who prudently avoid cameras and who receive minimal rewards for brilliant service, fervently believe.

They are, in the words of Ballesteros and Dopico, "the police of the 21st century," a slogan coined by Minister Roson just after he took over the most difficult department in the Spanish Government. Working behind them are their comrades in the Central Investigation Brigade, the most famous brigade, mythologized these days after the freeing of Dr Iglesias and the confiscation of 5,000 kilos of ETA weapons. How can they figure the weight? How can they be sure that this is 95 percent of the arsenal of the "poli-milis?" These questions have a single reply: they have calculated the number of robberies and figured to the last millimeter the recent losses of material; in the former, in spite of appearances, there was never a real truce with ETA-pm, the supposedly "good" branch invented one day—and his cleverness probably cost him his life—by Moreno Bergareche, alias "Pertur," guitarist, rock singer and disciplined student at a college run by monks, one of whom he encountered later on in ETA.

### No Truce

Actually, the "polis" have never rested. Nor does it seem certain that the alleged truce was adopted in a disciplined manner with a single dissenting vote. Mario Onaindia, "the politician with the best armed leadership in the Basque Country," according to a police source, has "sold," since 27 February 1981--4 days after Tejero Molina's attack on the Cortes--pacification, truce and negotiation. Only the last has been real: in Madrid, Juan Jose Roson and Onaindia no longer hide in secret meetings that nobody mentions afterward. Roson and Onaindia have dined together on many occasions, even in a restaurant near the ministry frequented by distinguished members of the State Security Forces. No one, however, among the leaders of the antiterrorist struggle, will admit that there has been the slightest agreement, the minimal transaction between the two. The story goes that in order to ensure the Spanish democratic primary elections, Martin Villa circulated among the ETA political-military organization, the result being the silencing of the automatic weapons and the presence of Juan Maria Bandres in the Senate.

The antiterrorists distrust, suspect and fear Bandres: for example, they fear the mounting of antipolice campaigns based on torture stories which have never been proved, on the psychological and physical pressures which used to be used on ETA members who were arrested. Torture was the principal charge on which the ETA based its "reasons" for murdering Commissioner Manzanas, the police agent so widely criticized for his methods, who died the same day that those who attended a meeting in a convent in Vizcaya decided to kill him. Echave, the priest arrested with Kalzada and tried in Burgos, said later: "A priest must commit himself politically and arm himself to defend the Basque people against the police."

Juan Maria Bandres is not acceptable to the State Security Forces. However, the opposite is true of Onaindia, and they value his useful statements condemning the kidnapping of Dr Iglesias, a kidnapping planned and practiced a thousand times, with which ETA-pm, according to them, "returned" to the terrorist society. But fear has definitely changed its slogans. The campaign of the two ETA branches has a single goal: to contradict publicly the motives which give rise to police euphoria, to assert that "we are more united than ever," and to ask the people to continue supporting the armed struggle. Who is right? The security forces, who optimize the results and say that the beginning of the end has come for the ETA, or the spokesmen for the terrorist gangs themselves, who say the security forces will soon be hearing from them? Probably the answer is somewhere in the middle. But one thing is certain: never before have we had so much information about the ETA, about the two ETAs.

Manuel Ballesteros is not giving out any information about the number of infiltrators working for him in the north or even in France. There are infiltrators—many of them. They are low—paid collaborators who have been recruited over the last 2 years and are classed as "special envoys" in the organization. Periodically they pass reports identical—the similarity is astonishing—to those supplied by ETA men "working for us," who were arrested at some point in their terrorist careers and agreed to join the intelligence game.

Ballesteros is, perhaps, the architect of this intelligence network, construction of which began barely 2 years ago. Prior to that there was no coordination. It is tragic to say so, but Spain had lost a lot of time in the national struggle against terrorism. When General Saenz de Santamaria arrived in the Basque Country, sent by the Adolfo Suarez government, there were no maps of area highways or local roads. In that steep country the ETA literally scoffed at the valiant members of the security forces. With the intelligence network in place, something else has happened. Today things appear to have changed definitively. In many villages in industrial Vizcaya or in coastal Guipuzcoa there are peaceful citizens who form a solid part of the social fabric, who are trying to get the ETA to pay attention to them and begin to sympathize with them and who, after a few trial months, catch them in the terrorist net. These are Ballesteros men, who show special signs of being "abertzale" [patriotic]. If they succeed in infiltrating they will become efficient allies of those 130 superspecialists who are working in the four Basque provinces and in Navarra.

The success of recent police actions depends in large part on the intelligence network that functions with precise timing, on the analysis made by technicians of each and every piece of information that arrives in Madrid and on the service's agents, who are responsible, in the last analysis, for carrying on the fierce struggle against the terrorists. Every car belonging to the Central Intelligence Brigade travels more than 125,000 kilometers annually; they carry experts who do not live in the Basque Country, but "go north" once a week. The agent-officials know more about ETA than the members themselves: during interrogations, astonishing situations arise in which police and terrorist discuss a certain action, decision, report or simply a bit of information. The two use the same language: "We are," they say, "playing the same game, but on different teams." It is not strange, then, that some experts, most of them, are contaminated by the ETA vocabulary and use the same expressions which have been, in my opinion, a source of confusion for the uninitiated. Just a few days ago, the well-liked Commissioner Martorell was speaking of the "armed struggle," the concept which euphemistically involves attack, treacherous murder or economic and psychological blackmail. All the ETA "argot" should, however, be carefully destroyed; this is the only way to ensure that the true orientation of the bloody terrorists is not disguised.

The Spanish police are prepared for any kind of terror. They spend many hours of their training in scrutinizing and studying documents, reading between che lines the news organs which lean toward extremist groups of both persuasions. "These newspapers are, for us, working material," one expert in the antiterrorist struggle told me. They have the phraseology of the ETA communiques down pat, and they also know how to interpret the keys to certain ultrarightist activities which appear in some of the newspapers. They have tapes of many of the programs aired daily by the outstanding Radio Popular de San Sebastian, a station which is supported, at least in theory, by the bishop of Guipuzcoa, Setien, but which in practice behaves with absolute autonomy. The two branches of ETA use Radio Popular de San Sebastian to broadcast their claims, manifestos and communiques. Nobody within the Spanish church seems to be surprised by this collaboration -- the simple broadcasting of a message -- between a radio station close to the church and the professional terrorists. COPE, the Spanish Popular Radio Network, over which the church has obvious decisionmaking power, this year edited a program for all the provincial stations except the Basque stations, and this, "simply because the latter did not accept it." Bishop Estepa, who is head of the communications media for the Bishops' Conference, should give definite reasons for this refusal and also explain the true role of the church's radio station in San Sebastian.

## Twenty-first Century Police

Just as this negative "collaboration" still exists, another, positive collaboration is being strengthened and is directly responsible for current successes. But the big question continues to be: Is the Basque Nationalist Party collaborating with the Spanish Security Forces? The experts shrug their shoulders at the question. It is true, however, that the brave reaction by the chief nationalist leaders against economic blackmail (we shouldn't call it a revolutionary tax) has contributed to the fact that the financial campaign imposed by ETA to collect funds is doomed to failure. Javier Arzallus, president of "Euskaki Buro Batzar" [Basque Executive Committee of the PNV], complains in surprise that the ETA does not want to sit down at the negotiating table, but offers "assurances" to the mayor of Guecho that even

though he does not pay, nothing will happen to him. The PNV [Basque Nationalist Party] is now trying a more productive type of struggle against the terrorist "abertzales" ("abertzales" in its purest sense means all the nationalists), which consists in returning fear for fear and threatening the murderers. On another occasion, the Aranists of Bermeo, who hate the followers of Arzallus and Garaicoechea, have intimidated ETA with a similar strategy. A few days after sending the message and notice to the other side of the Pyrenees, it appeared that the conservative industrialist, Garabillas, was "clean" and had not given a single peseta to the ETA military arm's minister of finance.

The greatest possibility is that this organization is undergoing a process of progressive debilitation. The chief leaders of the gang are still in France: from the aging "Txomin," "Iturbe Abasolo," who helped in at least two attacks, to the bloodthirsty "Txiquierdi" and "Txapela," the latter with more than 20 killings to his credit as a terrorist carved from granite, unaffected and unmoved by sentiment. The situation of older ETA members may be one of moral crisis: they have spent many years in the armed vanguard without achieving any apparent successes, and opinion is largely against them. No one knows exactly how politically coherent the Herri Batasuna (United People) coalition is at present, which received 17 percent of the vote in the last election and in which there is only one minimally solid group: HASI, the People's Revolutionary Socialist Party. Nor is it easy to predict what will be the electoral future of "Euskadiko Ezkerra," the party which resulted from the fusion of EIA [Basque Revolutionary Party] with some of the Basque communists. The impression is that the merger has encountered resistance among the rank and file and that this will show up at the polls.

Today's victories have an old explanation. The police now have an image of efficiency which they lacked under the autocracy. The "21st century police agent" is more than an aspiration: it is a plan on the way to becoming reality. The professionals are, as Manuel Ballesteros, director general of the Unified Antiterrorist Command, puts it, "fighters for democracy," It is an admirable warranty.

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TURKEY

ADMIRAL ORKUNT WRITES ON ARMENIAN TERRORISM

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 12-15 May 82

[Article in four installments by Admiral Sezai Orkunt: "International Terrorism and the Armenian Question"]

[12 May 81 p 2]

[Excerpts] Each year, as 24 April [Armenian Martyrs' Day] and 28 May [Armenian Proclamation of Independence Day] draw nearer, militants of the world Armenian community—said to be spread over 60 countries—step up their propaganda and demonstrations. They use the murder of Turkish diplomats and their families as a means of attracting attention to their claims. The purpose of this century—old propaganda effort is to indoctrinate the Western world and Russia against Turkey and, through such pressure, to set up an Armenian republic in Eastern Turkey.

Armenian claims are based on two points:

- 1) The Turks carried out the first genocide in history between 1915 and 1918 and massacred 1.5 million Armenians.
- 2) A large part of the Armenian homeland has remained within the borders of Eastern Turkey. These lands must be returned to the Armenians.

Those who make these claims and who run the street demonstrations and the propaganda campaign are Marxist organizations who say they are acting in the name of the large Armenian communities in Europe and America, but who really are not linked with those communities.

France as well as other Western governments—with the exception of the Greek Cypriot Administration and Greece—have ended their support for Armenian terrorism which is functioning as a branch of international terrorism. Isolated shows of sympathy are motivated by the ambitions of some politicians in certain electoral districts.

Russia's Role

lt is well known that the strongest support for the Armenian militant forces comes from the Soviet Union. Middle-aged citizens will recall how the Soviet

Union officially demanded in 1946-1947 that the provinces of Kars and Ardahan be turned over to Russian control and how certain Georgian and Armenian historians and writers tried to rationalize that demand. Subsequent Soviet administrations did not broach this issue openly again, but they never lost sight of their ultimate aim.

A pro-Armenian article published in the Moscow NEW TIMES in December 1981 accused Turkey of attempting to have the past forgotten in connection with the Armenian genocide. The "Voice of the Turkish Communist Party" broadcasting from East Berlin has urged the "acknowledgement of historical crimes committed against the Armenians in Turkey." At an anti-Turkish demonstration held in Athens, a young militant woman openly demanded the incorporation of Turkey's six Eastern provinces in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia.

Even these few small examples show that the Armenian question is kept alive as part of a well-defined policy and propaganda campaign rather than as a result of the aspirations of a great majority of the Armenian community around the world.

Turks and Armenians, as social groups, are not each other's foes either in Turkey or anywhere else around the world. Both sides deplore the terrorizing murders no matter what their purpose is. No rational person can justify the murder of innocent people on the pretext of unproven events supposed to have happened between 1915 and 1918.

Power of Government

There is one conclusion that must interest the Turkish public:

The Armenian question and terrorism emerged during the final years of the Ottoman Empire; the Turkish and Armenian communities turned against each other at a time when the state had disintegrated and lost its authority and power inside the country.

During the Republican period, the interval between 1973 and 1980 was a time when the authority and the power of government was weakened while anarchy and terrorism escalated. During that interval, Armenian militant organizations, with limited means of action inside Turkey, tried to achieve their historical aims by murderous activities abroad. Today, they continue their murders encouraged by the possible weaknesses of a multiparty system that will follow the present military administration. Therefore, the strength or weakness of the state is an important factor.

This means that as long as there is a strong government no propaganda campaign can be effective. A weak government, on the other hand, opens new doors of hope for forces determined or intending to destroy the state.

Armenian terrorism, as a branch of international terrorism, is a tool of a plan prepared at certain centers of power to cause Turkey's collapse. What they want is to annex some of Turkey's Eastern provinces into the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia. Is the Soviet Union behind these moves? A documented proof of such a case is so hard that it might as well be considered impossible.

A diagnosis that will be close to the truth can only be arrived at by looking at the course of the events and by putting together the dispersed links of the chain.

We know that our Armenian citizens living in Turkey are disturbed by the murders and fanatic acts carried out by Armenian terrorists abroad. These citizens have, on various occasions, openly condemned these incidents. Therefore, the problem is not inside Turkey, but abroad. We want to examine this problem abroad under the following main groupings:

- 1) International terrorism and its links with Armenian terrorism.
- 2) Examples from the Armenian terror propaganda.
- 3) The stance of governments against political terrorism.
- 4) Possible effects of Armenian terror abroad on the lives of Armenians living in Turkey.

The Palestine Liberation Organization is currently the largest anti-Israeli organization and is officially recognized by the United Nations.

Armenian terrorists would, perhaps, like to draw parallels between the [Arab-Israeli] issue and the Armenian question in the following manner:

- 1) In the establishment of the Israeli state, terrorist groups operating in foreign countries had an important share in the success of the propaganda effort to prove the legitimacy of the Israeli cause.
- 2) The Israeli state was established by the decision and support of the United Nations.
- 3) Although, at present, there is no Armenian population living in Eastern Anatolia, it is possible to weaken and destabilize the Turkish state through the application of terror in cooperation with organizations of other ethnic groups abroad. Even if this cannot be done, the buildup of sympathy around the world may force the establishment of an entity in Eastern Anatolia.

[13 May 82 p 2]

[Text] The general aim and purpose of terrorist groups can be stated as follows:

- a) To force governments into bargaining situations with demands of release of political prisoners and ransom by hijacking airplanes, taking hostages and kidnaping important personalities.
- b) To secure necessary popular support in order to show themselves stronger and more important that they really are, to increase their recruitment and to have their cause publicly endorsed.
- c) To force governments into taking broad oppressive measures and a position of state terrorism in order to create the impression that the people's real enemy

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is the government and the police state and to indoctrinate the people such that they will eventually rebel against the government or stand by the side of terrorist groups in future conflicts.

d) To avenge the terrorists' failure to have their demands accepted and their ideas endorsed; to kill persons they declare to be guilty in order to scare and force into submission individuals, institutions and groups who do not cooperate.

The terrorist methods listed above have all been used in Turkey.

Modern terrorist groups are also products of social conditions. They grow very fast in suitable environments. Therefore, this issue must also be examined from a social and economic viewpoint.

Economic and Social Conditions

Social and economic factors related to terrorism can be summarized under five categories:

- a) Socioeconomic environment.
- b) Possibility of legalization of terrorist groups.
- c) Possibility of foreign support for terrorist groups.
- d) Results of terrorist acts.
- e) Possible future of terrorist groups.
- a) Studies show that there is a direct correlation between economic imbalances in a society and terrorist activities. The extent and the effects of this correlation varies from one society to another. This correlation manifests itself in several ways.

First, there are the movements which emerge in an environment of insecurity created by extreme economic imbalances in a society, faults in the system, inadequacies in the bureaucratic machinery, large gaps between the rich and the poor, economic problems that affect and threaten the middle class and the failure of a political administration to institute social justice.

Then there are the terrorist groups who want to exploit the situation to destroy the state and lay the foundations of a communist system under the philosophy of a worker revolution.

There are also problems arising from the condition of workers sent from poor countries to high-growth countries. When migrating workers cannot adapt to the society in which they are working, the resulting adverse living conditions lead to the formation of terrorist groups by the younger generation.

When givernments cannot meet the demands of these ethnic groups, terrorism is adopted as a means of securing certain rights. Such incidents are observed everywhere around the world. The case of the Federal Republic of Germany is the one that interests Turkey.

- b) The legitimization of terrorist groups depends on the support they find within a given society.
- If a terrorist group finds sympathy for its cause, its legitimacy can be discussed. A good case in point is the Palestine Liberation Organization.
- c) Terrorist groups may be supported by certain governments or they may find sympathy or toleration for their acts among the national grouping or minority they belong to. Such support and sympathy plays a significant role in the spread and strengthening of terrorism. Support can also come from other terrorist groups.

An example of the first case is the tolerance shown to Armenian terrorists in France, Lebanon and some states of the United States.

Examples of the second case are the sympathy shown by the Japanese Red Army to the Palestine Liberation Organization and the cooperation between Palestinian organizations, the Japanese Red Army and the Baader-Meinhof gang as manifested in the Munich massacre.

- d) Results brought about by the acts of a terrorist group can cause certain problems for a country both domestically and internationally.
- --If, within the environment of insecurity it creates and maintains, a terrorist group succeeds in bringing about the social change it desires--such as cause a change of government, or get concessions from an existing government--certain results will emerge both within the country where these events take place and in the international arena. A good example is the formation of the Israeli state.
- --A terrorist group may not find the reaction it desires either from the people or the government. When that happens, they try to make themselves heard by helping other terrorist groups abroad and by attempting to gain an international identity. Good examples are the Japanese Red Army and the Baader-Meinhof gang.
- --In some societies terrorist acts get exactly the opposite reaction the terrorists expect. The activities of the Popular Revolutionary Army in Argentina caused the formation of a rightist terror organization called the Argentine Anticommunist Alliance. In Turkey, too, leftist terror gave birth to rightist terror.
- --A terrorist group may also meet with complete failure and be routed by government forces. Examples can be found in Latin American countries.
- e) The future of terrorist groups depends on whether these groups expect better successes in the future, whether their organizations will disband or whether their ranks will thicken.

In this respect, the future of Armenian terrorism will depend on how badly their dreams are broken around the world, how little sympathy and tolerance they find from the governments and politicians of the countries they live in and how far governments adhere to international agreements.

If proper steps are not taken, terrorism will hurt the countries it is based in as well as international relations.

Examples of Armenian Terrorist Propaganda

Based on Foreign Ministry bulletins summarizing worldwide press reports supporting terrorist activities in various countries, the following conclusions can be made:

a) The killing of Turkish diplomats is not presented as an act of murder, the murderers are presented as heroes and Armenian communities as well as sympathizers are urged to contribute to the material and moral support campaigns launched during the murder trials.

Thus, not only are fanatic young men and women encouraged to commit murders, but also they are made to believe that even if they are caught and tried they will either be set free or given very light sentences. The actual results observed lead to the intensification of this propaganda campaign.

b) Allegations about an Armenian genocide in the period 1915-1918 are reiterated on every occasion; films, radio and television programs are prepared on the issue; books and articles are written; personal memoirs are published; and people are encouraged to write letters to newspapers and magazines for publication.

What is said is similar to the following excerpt taken from the December 1981 issue of ARMENIA, a newspaper published in Marseilles:

"Armenians who could escape the 1915 genocide have for years demanded, through peaceful means, the admission and condemnation of the genocide. The laxity of the international justice system has led the Turkish authorities to deny and distort historical facts. Let us not discourage the representatives of countries like France who support us. Let us also emphasize that we are not terrorists, but a national resistance organization."

Our version of history is based on documents in government archives. There are also archives on Turkey kept by other governments. It is well known that all Turkish government archives were at the disposal of the Allied forces during the occupation of Istanbul, that the Turkish government of the time would do anything to help the British and to slur the rebel government of Union and Progress, that there is not a single document in British or U.S. archives to indicate the occurrence of a genocide and that, despite all the special efforts, not a single document has been found to implicate persons exiled to Malta in organizing a genocide.

Therefore, Turkish archives represent nothing but the truth. They contain neither denials nor distortions. Impartial Armenian historians will also testify to this fact.

During the war, Armenian armed gangs and revolutionary committees working behind the back of the Turkish army and Armenian forces fighting on the side of the Russian army caused a large number of casualties among Turkish soldiers and peasants and in the process suffered casualties of their own. It was for this reason that Armenian families in the war zone were forced to migrate. But the Armenians want to show their war losses and migration as genocide. They have indoctrinated their young with this fanatical idea and turned them into today's terrorists. One must not forget that 3 million Turks met their deaths during

the war at the hands of Armenian armed gangs. Who shall we ask to account for our losses?

c) An article entitled "Armenians and Turks" rejects an explanation given by Turkish communists that the 1915 events were part of a class struggle. The article claims that at the time 80 percent of the Armenians lived in rural areas, that they suffered the same poverty as the Turks around them and that the reasons behind the alleged genocide are rather linked to differences of religion, language and culture between the two nations.

If Turkish communists have really given such an explanation, this is a good example of how their ideology leads to absurdities.

The other mistake concerns the linkage between the alleged genocide and differences of religion, language and culture between Turks and Armenians.

If that were true, Fatih Sultan Mehmet would not have set up the Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul and would not have defended the Armenians against the Catholic Church; during the five centuries that followed this event, that is until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, there would exist no Armenian churches, schools, hospitals and foundations in Istanbul and Anatolia. If there were religious animosity between Turks and Armenians there would not be 1.4 million—by our count, 2.5 million by their count—Armenians living in Turkey in 1915 because they would have been wiped out in the course of centuries. If these allegations were true, Armenians would not be able to live in peace with the Turks in rural areas.

 ${\tt d})$  We see in press reports how Armenian terrorism is supported in countries like France.

[14 May 82 p 2]

[Text] Twenty French socialist deputies, who assume that Armenians have really been subjected to a genocide and who claim that "even today the Turkish government oppresses the Armenians living in Turkey," recently submitted to the European Parliament a draft resolution which brings heavy charges against Turkey and which makes certain demands from the EEC Council of Ministers.

Addressing representatives of Armenian societies from the Bouches de Rhône region, French Minister of State for Interior Gaston Defferre, who is also a deputy from Marseilles, said it was he who suggested the draft resolution—which calls on the "Turkish government to admit the 1915 genocide"—to the French socialist group in the European Parliament, that if the resolution is endorsed, an important step will have been taken in the international field and that Armenians may expect further such actions at the level of UNESCO and the United Nations.

In another speech on 24 April 1982, Defferre declared that he stands in total support of the Armenian cause. To quote [Turkish Foreign Minister] the Honorable Ilter Turkmen, "those who bring accusations against Turkey must remember the dark and shameful pages of their own history."

This truly opportunist French minister has resorted to lies for political purposes and to secure a vote base for forthcoming elections. The fact that he

has promised to have a monument built in Champs Elysée in Paris to commemorate and immortalize the Armenian genocide goes beyond political opportunism and shows that he is afraid of the terrorists' acts.

e) There was another incident in France that attracted our attention.

#### ASALA and Dashnak Supporters

On 6 November 1981, a ceremony, presided over by the Deputy President of the French National Assembly, Guy Ducolonne, was held in Marseilles to commemorate the 61st anniversary of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. Speaking at the ceremony, Ducolonne said that "France has for years supported Armenian aspirations, most importantly the acceptance of the genocide" and that "the French government must make efforts toward the recognition of the first genocide of the 20th century." He made a bigger gaffe when he said: "It is the tradition of our country to make efforts to preserve the existence of the Armenian minority in Turkey."

f) In Lebanon, Armenian young men and women publish newspapers and magazines in universities. Some of these publications support the Dashnak Party, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, and some support the ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia], which is an extension of the Dashnak Party.

#### Academicians Threatened

The Lebanese-Armenian youth has now reverted to intimidating historians. The second volume of a two-volume history work written by Stanford J. Shaw--a history professor at the University of California in Los Angeles--and his spouse in 1976 states that an Armenian genocide did not take place. Armenian terrorists do not like this work at all. As a result, Professor Shaw, who teaches Turkish history at the University, was forced, through student boycotts, to leave his job temporarily and was even threatened with death. This is a tactic used by people who are afraid of their own lies and who would like to prevent impartial people from learning the truth.

Recently, two history teachers and students from the Haigazian University in Lebanon have begun pressuring the authors of the book entitled "History of the Modern World Since 1815" published by the Yale University in the United States. The authors have been criticized for not mentioning the "first genocide of the 20th century" in the chapter on World War I and the publishers have been asked to include this in the new edition of the book. The two professors who wrote the book have stated that they find this request justified and that they will make the necessary amendments to the new edition.

This may seem to be a simple incident, but is worrisome from an academic point of view. When a history researcher does not write about an issue which he cannot determine clearly during his research, he is committing an act which is related to his academic ethics. If history will assume a new identity in the face of demands and pressure, neither the historians nor the history of the Western world will be trusted.

g) In an interview with LE FIGARO correspondent Laconetre, Head of State Gen Kenan Evren said: "An Armenian question does not exist in Turkey. An Armenian state has never existed on the land within the borders of Turkey and will not exist in the future." HERALD, a magazine published by students in Lebanon, criticizes this statement and makes the following prediction: "History books of the future will show how an Armenia was born before Turkey's eyes."

How will this be done? Some believe that a Marxist-Leninist government will come to power in Turkey and, as a manifestation of international brotherhood —that delusive concept used by all the worker regimes around the world—will permit the establishment of a Greater Armenia on the Eastern six provinces of Turkey.

Others believe that the United States must bring about this state of affairs.

### A Fanatic Clergyman

Archbishop Yeprem Tabakian, the Armenian spiritual leader for the Western United States appointed by the Armenian Catholicate in Antilias, Lebanon, has sent an open letter to American politicians and government institutions in connection with the murder of our Los Angeles Consul Kemal Arikan and the trial of the suspect in the murder. The letter was published in ASBAREZ, the press organ of the Dashnak Party in the United States. Following are the concluding remarks of the letter:

"Our desperation is a reflection of our determination to return to our ancestral lands. After 600 years of enslavement by the Turks, we were able to regain part of our homeland in 1918. It is for this reason that our young are not hopeless. We would like all American citizens to understand the nature of this sacred and just cause which is leading to this kind of acts (killing of Turkish diplomats).

"As a spiritual leader of the Armenians, I would like to convey to you the lofty objectives of the Armenian national liberation struggle.

"We want the return of our occupied lands to their historical owners.

"Who else but the United States, which has led the world in the defense of human rights, can help us to win our just cause?

"Lastly, let me reiterate the slogan that shook Europe for a long time: Serving Armenia is serving civilization."

A clergyman is trying to convince the United States that some of Turkey's lands must be turned over to the Armenians by the use of force. Examples of such absurdities stemming from church fanaticism are abundant in history.

Misled by the clamor raised by Britain about the establishment of an Armenian state, President Woodrow Wilson was inclined to accept a U.S. mandate over Armenia [in 1918]. But subsequent fact-finding missions sent to Turkey proved the hollowness of Armenian claims over Eastern Anatolia, and the U.S. Senate refused the responsibility of establishing an Armenian state. If this dream

could not be realized at a time when Armenians constituted 18 percent of the population of Eastern Anatolia, how can anyone expect that current revolutionary and warlike objectives could be realized today when Armenians constitute 0.009 percent of Turkey's population? Today, there are 47 million Turks living in this country. Let us assume that the six provinces claimed were given to the Armenians by some power. How many Armenians are expected to come to these lands? From what corners of the world are they expected to come? Who will guarantee the security of Armenians who come to Eastern Anatolia on a hostile footing? Who will be able to force 47 million Turks to accept such a fait accompli?

Can they find answers to these questions?

#### A Communist Regime

Some groups envisage an exceptional situation where Turkey's current national identity is destroyed by a communist coup, Turkey becomes a supporter and vassal of Moscow's and Armenians are permitted to settle in the East within a federal framework.

What illusions! Can anyone expect that even a communist regime, with any sense of identity, would do something like that?

Now Turkish voices are also being heard against the propaganda campaign being waged abroad. Turkish-American societies in the United States are waging successful countercampaigns of their own. A well-prepared brochure entitled "Setting the Record Straight Against Armenian Propaganda" was recently distributed and advertising space was bought on high-circulation U.S. papers. The U.S. government, meanwhile, dows not appear to be taking a soft stand against the murders.

This 24 April produced a lig propaganda wave just like the others before it. Now as 28 May—the anniversary of the proclamation of the Armenian state in 1918—approaches a new propaganda wave may be expected.

## [15 May 82 p 2]

[Text] Having looked at France, let us take a brief look at Greece, which, together with the Greek sector of Cyprus, has become a staging area for Armenian terrorist organizations.

Armenians in Athens were given the opportunity to organize when the military government was in power in Greece and have maintained close links with Armenian terrorist organizations in France and Lebanon. Now, Armenians in Athens have found an ally in [Greek Prime Minister Andreas] Papandreou, and they can work comfortably under a tolerant government and police organization. The ultimate aim of Armenians living in Greece is to divide and disintegrate Turkey.

Right before September 1980, all terrorist groups in Turkey thought, on the basis of the support they received from leftist political parties and labor unions, that a leftist coup was possible in this country and that a leftist government could be brought to power.

In line with this impression, the Armenian murder organization which martyred Galip Ozmen in Athens in August 1980 issued the following communique:

"The fighters of the Armenian Secret Army assume the responsibility of killing the Turkish diplomat.

"Our struggle is a new step taken against reactionary forces in Turkey, against NATO and all imperialist forces and against Armenians who do not support us and want to stall progressivism.

"We will continue our struggle, hand in hand with Kurdish forces, until we liberate our homeland and the Turkish people living under oppression."

## Russian Support

One branch of this organization is believed to be the Athens Armenian Youth Organization which is headed by an Armenian woman known as Red Agavni. In an address to a gathering of Armenians, she raised her left fist and said:

"We are grateful to the Soviet Union which supports our cause. Our objective is to divide Turkey and to make Eastern Anatolia part of Soviet Armenia."

A statement by the "Armenian Revolutionary Committee," which hides behind the name "Pan-Hellenic Armenian Organization" to win the sympathy of Greeks, says:

"The struggle of the Armenian people continues to liberate its lands from Turkish occupation. The ultimate aim of our struggle is to recover these lands from the Turks and make them part of Soviet Armenia.

"Armenians of the diaspora feel sympathy and allegiance toward Soviet Armenia which is the most democratic republic in the Soviet Union."

These statements must make the Turkish people think again why there have been "liberated zones" in Fatsa--a small staging port on the Black Sea--Kars and Artvin.

As long as Armenian terrorism and terrorists and animosity against Turks are supported in Greece and other countries, it will not be possible to stop international terrorism and its arm, Armenian terrorism. The situation will be even more difficult if the Soviet Union continues providing political support for these organizations as evidenced by the statements mentioned above.

All this means that Armenian terrorism is one of the tools used by the Soviet Union to bring about the collapse of Turkey.

### Support From America

It is known that currently there are 500,000 Armenians living in the United States, most of them being in Massachusetts, Michigan, Illinois and California. Not surprisingly, the latest murder was committed in Boston.

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Consequently, the dependence of candidates running for the Senate and the House of Representatives on Armenian votes in these states has created the environment desired by terrorist groups.

On 24 April 1982, California Governor Jerry Brown ordered all state flags to be flown at half mast to commemorate the 67th anniversary of the alleged Armenian genocide. Brown's published statement said:

"History is our interpretation of past events. One of the darkest periods in history was lived during the massacre of 1.5 million Armenians in 1915. When Hitler ordered the destruction of the Jewish race, he pointed to the Armenian experience and questioned whether anybody remembered that catastrophy."

Governor Brown also spoke at a dinner reception given in his honor in Montebello by the Dashnak Party, a revolutionary organization. Brown said: "I will do my best as Governor and, if elected, as U.S. Senator to help the Armenian cause." His words were aimed at securing votes for the forthcoming elections.

Congressmen and senators from the states mentioned above repeatedly state that the first genocide in history was committed by the Ottoman government in 1915, that 1.5 million Armenians were killed in the process and that modern Turkish governments must assume responsibility for what happened, pay reparations and return the lands Armenians claim to be theirs. Massachusetts Governor E. J. King has joined these congressmen and, on 2 April 1982, the House of Representatives of that state passed a resolution condemning the alleged Armenian genocide.

Thus, the Armenian issue has become a political investment opportunity in the United States resulting in an environment which supports and protects terrorism in certain states.

Those Who See the Truth

Meanwhile, pro-Turkish congressmen and senators condemn the murders of Turkish diplomats and their families and demand that the federal government take serious measures to prevent these acts. They state that the recognition of the terrorists' claims will mean a return to the law of the jungle, that young people from middle-class Armenian families in Lebanon are indoctrinated with Marxist-Leninist ideology and sent to France and the United States to commit murders and that all terrorist networks, with no exceptions, have pro-Soviet sympathies.

North Carolina Senator John P. East says that the Soviets are behind every terrorist movement around the world. Noting that Soviet support for terrorism is not a fabricated allegation, Senator East says that the Soviets supply all politically motivated terrorist groups with training, arms, logistics and propaganda assistance through direct or indirect means.

Turkey's Importance for Europe

The motives of these terror incidents abroad are very clear as stated several times previously. Armenian terrorism has its place within this general framework and has its own motives: To attract the attention of the Western world to the Armenian question through the sensational environment created by the murders and

use the West to force Turkey to make concessions.

This same thing has been tried for a hundred years. How can this dream have any chance of success against a strong Turkey when it could not be realized at the time of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the occupation of Anatolia?

Turkey is a great country. With its rising population, Turkey will, within the next 20 years, become the country with the largest population and strongest potential in Europe next to the Soviet Union.

The loss of Europe may mean serious economic difficulties for Turkey, but if Europe loses Turkey its political independence may be jeopardized.

Europe now seems to be inclined to present Turkey with the threat of a new crusade. There is only one spectator applauding this great political tragedy: The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

### Conclusion

The conclusion that can be drawn from what was said so far is that terrorism is directed against not only individuals, but also the stability of government systems.

If anarchy and its violent tactics cannot be stopped in time, significant damage may result to the machinery of government, its relations with the people and the sensitive structure of the economy.

According to one estimate, there are around 50 significant terrorist groups around the world. According to another estimate there are around 300 violent action groups around the world if all the splinter factions are counted in.

These groups have a broad range of ideologies, mostly derivatives of Marxism. All Armenian terrorist groups are ideologically Marxist-oriented and can comfortably link their objectives with Moscow's foreign policy.

The contradiction within the Western alliance is that the acts of terrorist groups which make no secret of their ideology are greeted with sympathy. The speedy escalation of anarchy and terror in Turkey which brought the government to the brink of collapse was the result of the tolerance shown by Turkish political parties in viewing and interpreting the events.

This tolerance and the political opportunism which helps the election of certain government or party officials are loopholes which are exploited very well by terrorists.

Consequently, it is very hard--almost impossible--to wipe out movements similar to Armenian terrorism within the framework of the Western world.

When a terrorist group which has given its cause a national identity and a sympathetic form murders foreign individuals or damages foreign institutions in a given country, the government of that country is generally not inclined to move against the terrorists. As long as the citizens of that country and their property are not hurt, the terrorists will be looked upon with tolerance. This

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is a type of collaboration and is the most important factor in the failure to curb international terrorism.

The UN convention on the "prevention and punishment of crimes against internationally protected individuals" adopted by the General Assembly in December 1973 and the European convention on the "annihilation of terrorism" adopted in 1977 have not been effective in the prevention of crimes against life and property. The reservations expressed by some of the signatories of the European convention show that political murders will not be easily ended.

As long as a government does not take serious internal and external measures, it is impossible to bring an end to acts of violence by newspaper articles and commentaries, radio and television programs, books and academic seminars.

It is impossible to wipe out terrorism especially when a group is considered terrorist by one government and a freedom fighter organization by another.

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TURKEY

ASALA, HIGH-LEVEL OFFICIALS LINKED TO SMUGGLING RING

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 9 May 82 p 17

[Report by Kamil Basaran]

3

[Text] Five years ago we proved by documents and warned the authorities that "Overco," a company set up and operated by our mortal enemy, ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia], in Holland, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon, was bringing smuggled arms and goods into Turkey. Do you know what happened? Our reports were covered up. "A TIR [International Highway Transport] truck driver who cooperated with the Armenians and who could give us important leads was permitted to escape by high-level Turkish officials."

I was talking to official people. Thinking that I did not believe what they said, they added: "Here are the documents. They are documents of shame about the bribery addicts and the phony patriots of the pre-12 September period. You can look at them." The documents before me had "Very Important-Urgent" stamped on them.

The persons I talked to tried for years to attract attention to the biggest smuggling operation in the history of the republic organized by the Armenian secret terror organization, ASALA, but their voices were subdued in the environment existing before 12 September [1980]. They still hold high-level government positions. Their reports said: "The Armenians want to dynamite the foundations of the Turkish Republic. Here is their true identity, here is their phony company and here are the Turkish officials helping that company." These reports were not heeded and their authors were frustrated.

When HURRIYET published reports that "Overco" was operated by ASALA and that there were important personalities involved behind the scenes, these officials said: "Those who covered up those reports must be ashamed of themselves." Now they were showing these 5-year-old "important documents to set an example."

Driver Escapes

I looked at the documents they gave me. They said:

"The Dutch Embassy has reported that Overco is owned by an Armenian, that the company's Kuwait representative may also be an Armenian and that this company is

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smuggling arms into Turkey.

"Dutch truck driver Adrianus Van Wijk has stated that he works for Overco in Holland and that he has received instructions from a company official named Luthart to unload the goods in his TIR truck, license number 44-66-ZB, at a location near Gaziantep in Turkey. This smuggling incident has also been confirmed by the Dutch Interpol."

#### I asked:

"Is the Dutch truck driver now in jail?"

The officials smiled bitterly:

"He is not in jail; he is abroad. He escaped from our hands. He escaped in a Mercedes car from a customs area. The driver had dual nationality; he gave us very useful information. His account was confirmed by the Dutch Embassy.

"Let us tell you the incident mentioned in those documents from the beginning.

"Adrianus Van Wijk was a truck driver working for Overco, a company owned by Armenians. He told us where he unloaded smuggled goods and how he got around customs formalities without leaving Turkey. He also told us that a fresh shipment of arms was on its way aboard a truck.

"There were some interesting developments while we were waiting for that truck. Van Wijk was spirited out of the customs area. He did not even have his passport with him.

"While the investigation of the incident continued there were even more interesting developments. Another truck driver attempted to run away with the captured TIR truck. This driver, a Yugoslav citizen, inflated the tires of the truck, refueled it, found the ignition key and started the engine. A colleague of ours who was not even on guard duty caught him. This driver told us that he unloaded three truckfuls of arms in Turkey.

"Report No 10, dated 29 December 1978, and Report No 2, dated 25 January 1979, written by Inspector Necati Can, explain the other tragic facts about this incidents. You can read them."

How Can This Happen?

An interesting section in one of the Inspector's reports attracted my attention. It said:

"According to my investigation of the truck with license number 44-66-ZB, the Dutch Interpol, acting on tips provided by the Dutch Embassy, has uncovered the activities of a smuggling organization in Holland. It has determined that Adrianus Van Wijk would carry one half of a 25-guilder banknote the other half of which would be carried by the person who would meet Van Wijk in Turkey. Thus, the two would be able to identify each other. The Dutch Interpol has also

reported to the Dutch Embassy that weapons are kept in the spare tires of the truck with license number 29-45-ZB and that this truck is supposed to be at the Turkish-Bulgarian border. This last fact was also the conclusion of our office. Although the investigation was being handled by our office and although this fact was known to the Dutch Embassy, relevant information which should have been reported to us was sent to the Ministry of the Interior.

"The note sent to the Ministry of the Interior specifically mentioned our office as the authority in charge of the case. In spite of that, the Ministry chose to pass the information on to the Edirne Security Directorate by phone, in a manner that could compromise the secrecy of the investigation. After receiving this important information, the Edirne Security Director promised the Undersecretary of the Ministry of the Interior that he would get in touch with us, but that information never reached our office.

"It was later determined who the Edirne Security Director—who was appointed to that post in December 1977—got in touch with after receiving the information from the Ministry. The information in question reached our office 2 months after the Ministry of the Interior received it. Meanwhile, the Ministry of the Interior complained to the Ministry of Customs and Monopolies that our office would not release any information on the case."

Smugglers Benefit From Unexpected Recall

The 5-year-old investigation reports stamped "Very Important-Urgent" are filled with hair-raising accounts. In one report, Ministry of Customs Inspector Necati Can says:

"In our previous investigations we had determined that the firm named 'Overco Holland B.V.' and reportedly owned by Armenians was smuggling goods by TIR trucks through entry ports in the Thrace and that two containers belonging to the firm had been dispatched through Turkey to a bank in Kuwait.

"It was believed that these goods, supposedly destined for (Alahli) Bank in Kuwait, would be unloaded at a convenient location [in Turkey] after moving out of the port of Mersin. Therefore, a watchdog group was instructed to keep an eye on who was in charge of the containers and to keep track of the containers if they were permitted to leave the port."

And then there is a big "but" which may cause a lot of faces to turn red. Inspector Can's report continues:

"But when Feramuz Durmusoglu who was appointed to run the shadowing job was suddenly recalled to Ankara for unknown reasons, the pursuit operation could not be carried out. The Middle East International Freight Company, which on 5 January 1979 filed Application No 138820 to move the containers in question out of the port, later wrote to the Directorate General that they had changed their mind on grounds of foul methods practiced by Overco."

Female Spies

Let us listen again to the high-level officials who want to remain anonymous:

"The smuggling incidents which provided sweet profits to ASALA assumed new proportions in the pre-12 September Turkey; many people occupying important positions were busy filling their pockets. Only Turkey and its deceived sons were losing because the Armenians were giving assistance to every right-wing and left-wing illegal organization in Turkey.

"How were they doing it?

"The Armenians were smuggling goods into Turkey and selling them here. Imported merchandise addicts were snatching these goods. Smuggled television sets, radios, jeans and cosmetics left sweet profits for the Armenians. With their earnings they bought narcotics and traded in hashish and heroin. Of course, they employed puppets in Turkey to do their work. These unconscientious traitors, who are supposed to be Turkish citizens, knowingly or unknowingly helped the Armenians. The Armenians made even more profits from the sale of narcotics. With those profits they would smuggle arms into Turkey and make even more money. Later, they gave this money to right-wing and left-wing illegal organizations in Turkey as well as ASALA. The foundations of the Turkish Republic were being undermined, Turkish blood was being shed and Turkish diplomats and citizens were being killed with money earned in Turkey. There was also a desire to undermine our intelligence organizations through influential people employed by the Armenians. In such operations female spies like Mata Hari were being used. Bribery and women always work like magic keys."

Jeans Uncover Armenian Smuggling

Customs Inspector Necati Can, who wrote the reports mentioned above, did not wish to talk about the issue. He only said: "I wrote those reports tirelessly despite the death threats and I turned them over to the authorities concerned." He added:

"My suspicions about Armenian smuggling were aroused by a shipment of blue jeans. I could not understand why one would ship blue jeans to Arab countries. Who would want to wear blue jeans in a hot country? There was something wrong and my suspicions turned out to be well-placed. Unfortunately, many things that should have been done could not be done in time.

"There are many things to be told, but I am a civil servant; I cannot talk."

Faces To Be Unmasked

But the high-level officials who talked to me did not remain silent. They told me other things which they did not want published at this stage. They said:

"Many snake heads were crushed in the aftermath of 12 September. Some managed to hide. Now we will uncover those snake heads and crush them. We will unmask the traitors who collaborated with our mortal enemies, the Armenians, and who enriched themselves with their dirty money. We will do this even if they have

occupied important positions in the past. It is time that these unconscientious people account for their crimes before Turkish justice."

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CSO: 6133/2600

TURKEY

## COLUMNIST ALLEGES SOVIET INSTIGATION OF ARMENIAN TERRORISM

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 10 May 82 p 6

["Street Corner" column by Ergun Goze: "The Real Purpose of Armenian Terrorism"]

[Text] Armenian terrorism has not stopped. It continues with more insolence and defiance. Now they have murdered our Honorary Consul in Boston. The cowardly slaying of Turkish diplomats certainly saddens the Turkish nation and causes problems for the Turkish government, but it does not create definite results which would be against the Turkish nation and the government.

Then we ask: What is the purpose of killing Turkish diplomats on the pretext of completely distorted events that happened 70 years ago? How has an "organization" named ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia] sprung up so suddenly and why is it working within a plan so persistently?

The purpose of these acts is very clear. The objective is to arouse the Turkish public to take retaliatory action against Armenians living in Turkey. Especially if such action assumes the proportions of the 6-7 September [1955] incidents, those who are instigating a few Armenians will have achieved their final aim. Then they will blame the responsibility of their crimes on our nation and plot a conspiracy against Turkey which is becoming an increasingly strong factor of stability in the Middle East.

The plot is not new; it is quite old.

For the past 100 years, the Russians, the French and the British have been cruelly and senselessly inciting the Armenian minority in Turkey to cause the collapse of our state from within. Naive Armenians who have become tools for this criminal act have brought disaster upon their nation.

The same play is being staged again. Two days ago, the Honorable Celal Bayar, the third President of the Republic, was reported as saying: "Russia is the instigator of Armenian terrorism." His statement is a reflection of common sense, experience and patriotism. The Soviet Union has lost its extensions, anarchy centers and "DER" or "TUM" organizations in Turkey. The 12 September [1980] operation brought an end to the divisive activities of these organizations in Turkey.

# APPROVED FOR RELEASE: 2007/02/09: CIA-RDP82-00850R000500070048-7

Armenian terrorism and the unrest it may cause in Turkey are the only trump cards left in Soviet hands.

But the agitators who sit in a room in the Kremlin to decide how to divide and dismember Turkey, what slogans to suggest to certain writers, what logos to give to certain cartoonists and how many roubles to pay to treason networks are forgetting one important factor: The humanity of the Turkish nation.

The Turkish nation has shown an exemplary level of humaneness toward members of different faiths it has lived with and will do so even in the 25th century, if this world is still alive.

The sadist passions of a few mercenary Armenian terrorists are alien to the Turkish nation. There is not a single Turk who would attribute the responsibility of crimes committed by a few perverted and confused Armenian terrorists to innocent Armenian citizens living in this country. But this nation and its government have the power to force the Armenian terrorist hyenas who have shed the blood of so many Turkish diplomats out of their dens and make them pay for their crimes.

This is the right and duty of this nation and government--just as long as they want to do it.

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END